THE MEMOIRES OF *JAMES* Lord *AUDLEY* Earl of *CASTLEHAVEN*, HIS Engagement and Carriage IN THE WARS OF *IRELAND*, From the Year 1642. to the Year 1651. WITH AN APPENDIX, Relating Wars abroad that he hath either ſeen or known; with ſome OBSERVATIONS on the whole.

Written by himſelf.

London, Printed for *Joanna Brome* at the Gun in St. *Pauls* Church-Yard. 1681.

This book came out in sept. 1680 or rather in June or July —

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

I Lay at your Majeſties feet theſe my Memoirs, with an Appendix relating Wars abroad, that I have either ſeen, or came within the compaſs of my knowledge, I being of the Armies, though not preſent in every occaſion; alſo ſome Obſervations on the whole.

They are contracted in ſo little a Volume, the more to invite you to read them, if your time may permit.

The Style is plain and ſimple, otherwiſe it could not be mine; but the care I have taken to ſet down truths, and with (I hope) few or no miſtakes, may make amends.

Your Majeſties
Moſt faithful Subject
and dutiful Servant

Caſtlehaven Audley.

TO THE
READER.

Being one day in S. Pauls Church-yard, *amongſt the* Stationers, *ſome Books fell into my hands lately ſet forth: Hiſtories of the Rebellion begun in* Ireland, *in the year* 1641. *with the Wars and Tranſactions that followed on that occaſion; and finding my ſelf in many places cited, acting as a confederate Catholick, which in plain Engliſh is as a Rebel; I thought fit to publiſh ſomething, ſetting forth my own ſtory (not to excuſe the Rebellion, or thoſe who were*

were forced into it, as I was, it having been begun moſt bloudily on on the Engliſh *in that* Kingdom, *in a time of ſetled peace, without the leaſt occaſion given*) *but what I write is chiefly to draw from the world ſome compaſſion, my caſe being ſingular, as I hope the Memoires will make out. I take God to witneſs, I never had the leaſt hint of the Rebellion, till being one night at Supper with my Lord of* Kery, *at his Houſe in that County; his Lordſhip being a Privy-Counſellour, ſhewed me a Letter which he then received from the Juſtices, ſetting forth the attempt on the Caſtle of* Dublin, *and the Rebellion in the* North, *from whence ſprung that unjuſtifiable War, in which I was unfortunately engaged: But on my repentance, purſued by*

my

my actings to bring on the firſt Ceſſation, and the Peace of 1646. *I had many teſtimonies from the late King of bleſſed memory, and his Lieutenant, the now Duke of* Ormond, *that my faults were forgiven me. Since I have always purſued my duty in faithfully ſerving the King; and after his death, his Majeſty that now reigns: for which, though moſt unworthy, I have received many marks of his favours; and ſince his happy Reſtauration, (for my better ſecurity) hath given me his gracious Pardon; by vertue of which, I have ſate in the Parliament of* Ireland, *as being a Peer of that Kingdom.*

The Appendix I promiſed, in ſhort repreſenting the ſtate of Ireland, *is grown into ſuch a bulk, that it comes out a Book by it ſelf, ſo that in its*

place

place by way of Appendix, I give you what I have seen, and that came within the compass of my knowledge of Wars abroad, I being of the Armies, though not present in every occasion; Also some Observations on the whole.

AN

THE

Lord *Audley* Earl of *Castlehaven*

HIS

NARRATIVE.

SECT. I.

The Occasion and Motives of his engaging in those Wars. His being in Ireland, *in his way to* France *when the Rebellion brake out. His Service proffer'd to the Lords Justices, but rejected. His retirement to his Country-house, Indictment of Treason, and Commitment to the Castle of* Dublin. *Sir* John Read *put to the Tortures of the Rack. The memory of the Earl of* Strafford's *Death. The Kings answer at* York *to Colonel* Mervin Tuchet. *His escape out of the Castle, and flight to* Kilkenny. *The* Model of Government, *and* Oath of Association.

WHat induced me to write this short Narrative, is to answer a wonder, that reasonably may be made:

how I being a Peer of *England*, and an *Engliſh-man* both by Birth and Deſcent on all ſides, ſhould engage my ſelf amongſt the *Iriſh* in their Wars: not ſpeaking a word of their Language, and having little in their Kingdom. I ſay then that I never deſigned it, but fell into thoſe Troubles by chance, and much againſt my will. The Story thus. I was newly come from my Travels abroad: where my Genius leading me to ſee whatever was to be ſeen in Armies, I went of purpoſe to the Siege of *Turain* in *Italy*. After my return, I attended the King at *Barwick*, till the firſt Pacification with the *Scots*. And then, hearing that the *Prince Cardinal* Governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* was preparing to March towards the relief of *Arras*, beſieged at that time by the *French*: I paſs'd over again to *Flanders* and *Artois*; and ſaw an end of that expedition, and *Arras* yielded to the Beſiegers. In ſhort, my Inclinations were to War, and ſo intended to make it my Trade, by putting my

ſelf

ſelf into the Service of ſome Foreign Prince.

To this effect, having ſettled my Affairs in *England*, I made as I thought a ſtep into *Ireland*, to do the like there. But it proved a longer ſtay. The occaſion take out of the enſuing Letter to me from my Brother Colonel *Mervin Tuchet*.

HEaring your Lordſhip is writing a Narrative *of your concerns in* Ireland *during the late War, & how you came to be engaged: I having been at that time with you, may poſſibly mind you of ſome Paſſages, more in my knowledge than yours. When the Rebellion broke forth in the* North, *you were in* Mounſter: *and on the News, you immediately repaired to* Dublin, *to the Lords Juſtices, Sir* William Parſons, *and Sir* John Burlace: *where you acquainted them, with your willingneſs, to ſerve the King againſt the Rebels, as your Anceſtors had formerly done in* Ireland, *on like occaſions. To which they replyed, your Religion was an*

Obſtacle. There being then a Parliament in that Kingdom ſitting, you were reſolved to ſee the Event, ſending me to your Houſe at Madingſtown, *in the County of* Kildare, *to ſecure and defend it, in caſe there were any Riſing in thoſe parts. Upon my coming, I found many poor* Engliſh *ſtript: whom I took into the Houſe and relieved, defending them in the beſt manner I could. Some time after, the Parliament being diſſolved, you deſired of the Juſtices a Paſs to go for* England. *But they refuſing, you acquainted them that your Eſtate there, was not in a condition to maintain you in* Dublin; *and deſired that you might be ſupplied with ſome mony, for your ſubſiſtance, until ſuch time, that you could apply your ſelf, to the Parliament in* England *for a Paſs to bring you over; which they denied. You preſt them then to direct you, what courſe you ſhould ſteer. To which they replied: Go home and make fair Weather. You took this Advice, and being come; my Lord of* Antrim *and my Lady Dutcheſs of* Buckingham, *ſoon followed; and you were very well pleaſed with ſo good*

Com-

Company to ſpend your Proviſions. But in a ſhort time, the Iriſh *came and drove away great part of your ſtock, to a village near. It being night, you deſired me to take your Servants and endeavour the recovery. Which I did, bringing with me two or three of the chiefeſt Conductors of this Rabble. This enrag'd the* Iriſh *ſo much, as you conceiv'd I was not ſafe there: and therefore ſent me to* Dublin, *to attend the Juſtices Orders, and aſſure them of your readineſs to return on a Call, they ſending a Convoy. Which they promis'd to do, as occaſion required. When I went from you, you thought it neceſſary, that I ſhould take with me, all the poor* Engliſh *that were ſaved; and to let them go with the Carts, which were loaden with Wool for* Dublin; *leaving only one of them, who was a Sadler, then my Lord of* Antrims *ſervant. In the paſſage neer* Rath-Cool, *the Rebels fell upon them, and barbarouſly killed ſome, and wounded others: my ſelf and one more eſcaping by the goodneſs of our Horſes. But a Servant of mine governing the Carts, and*

being an Engliſh-man, *they took. And whilſt they were preparing to hang him,* *Sir* John Dungans *Eldeſt Son,* Watt Dungan *came forth of his Fathers houſe with a Party, and reſcued him with the reſt of thoſe that were left alive, and brought them ſafe to* Dublin, *where I was gotten. The Sadler that I had left in my Lord of* Antrims *Service, ſome time after met me, complaining, that coming for* Dublin *he had been taken by the Rebells, by means of a Boy that ſerved your Lordſhip: and if I would not give him forty Shillings, being he was damnified (in ſo much) he would complain. I told him, that the Boy he mentioned was no Servant of yours; but kept out of Charity, and to whip the Dogs out of doors; being blind of an Eye, and lame of a Leg. He replied, that although he were blind and lame, he had a Note from my Lord of* Antrim, *to have him apprehended by thoſe that were neither blind, nor lame, which he gave to them, who took him Priſoner, and carried him to the Garriſon of* Leixlipp, *kept by the Rebels. I had him*

him do what he pleaſed: for I would not give him one Farthing.

The next I heard of it, was that he had complained; and that your Lordſhip was Indicted of high Treaſon. Upon which I made my addreſſes to the Lords Juſtices again, to let them know, that they had not kept their Words with me, in ſuffering this Clandeſtine proceeding againſt my Brother; but however, I would go and fetch you: and to that purpoſe deſired them to let me have a party of Horſe. But that they refuſed. I then came down to you with ſome of my Friends, and acquainted you with what had paſt. You anſwered, that you knew nothing of it, and went immediately with me to Dublin; *where you addreſſed your ſelf to my Lord of* Ormond, *as I did my ſelf in your behalf to the Lord Juſtices and Council, to acquaint them that you were come. They replied, that they could ſay nothing to it, till you appeared before them. Which you did the next day; and then they Ordered you to come the day following. At which time without calling you in, they com-*

committed you to Mr. Woodcocks House, one of the Sheriffs of Dublin. Now I seeing this rigorous usage towards you, and being refused a Pass for my self to go for England, made a shift to get away in a small boat, and go directly to the King at York, and Petition him that you might be sent for over to be Tried here by your Peers. But his Majesties answer was, that he had left all the Affairs of Ireland to the Parliament. Upon which I went to London, and Petitioned the Parliament to the same effect. Their answer was, that they could do nothing without the King; of which I gave you an account by Letter. This was the last Correspondence I had with you, being after that continually serving his Majesty in England. But the King coming from Newark to Oxford, he sent me with Dispatches to my Lord Lieutenant, and Ordered me to go to you, and use my endeavours to persuade you to hasten a Peace. You received the Commission as very agreeable, saying that from the beginning of the War you had always laboured for a Peace, and that you hoped

hoped it would soon be done. Before I returned, I saw it proclaimed: and it goes by the name of the Peace of 46.

London *the* 17*th. of* May. 1680.

Now that you have seen what my Brother writes of the occasion of my longer stay in *Ireland*, so much contrary to the design of my going thether: I will hence forth in my own Method go on with the Story of my own adventures in that Kingdom. But to this end I must once more place myself in *Madenstown*; whether, as you see in my Brothers Letter, I was first retired by advice of the Lords Justices. I continued there some five or six Moneths after in peace and quietness; and, for the greatest part of the time, in so noble and excellent company as that of the Dutchess of *Buckingham*, and the Lord Marquess of *Antrim* her Husband, who did me that very great honour.

In the mean while Parties were sent out by the Justices from *Dublin*, and the

the Towns adjacent, to kill and destroy the Rebels, and the like was done through all parts of the Kingdom. But the Officers and Soldiers did not take care enough to distinguish between Rebels and Subjects; but killed in many places promiscuously. On which partly, and partly on other provocations that preceeded, and some too that followed, the whole Nation, finding themselves concerned took to Arms for their own defence, and particularly the Lords of the Pale did so: who yet at the same time, desired the Justices to send their Petition to the King. Which was refused. And, for their farther discouragement, Sir *John Read*, his Majesties Sworn Servant (a stranger to the Country, un-engag'd, and an eye-witness of their proceedings, then upon his journey to *England*) prevailed with by them to carry their Remonstrance to his Majesty the late King of ever Blessed Memory, and to beg his pardon for what they had done, coming to *Dublin*, and not concealing his Message,

sage, was put to the Rack for his good will. The said Lords having Tried this, and other ways, to acquaint the King with their Grievances, and all failing, an open War broke forth generally throughout the Kingdom, and very unfortunately for me. One Encounter happened in the sight of my House, between my Lord of *Ormond* commanding the *English*, and my Lord *Richard* Vicount of *Mount-Garret* the *Irish*. The latter was defeated. This Encounter goes, by the name of the Battel of *Kill-Rush*, and was fought the *15th.* of *April.* 1642.

My Lord of *Ormond* after this being to Pass with his Army just by my Door, some of his people being of my acquaintance came Galloping before, assuring that my Lord of *Ormond* would be with me in half an hour. On which, my Lady Dutchess, and my self be-stirred our selves, and having two or three Cooks, a good Barns Door, and plenty of Wine, we patcht up a Dinner ready to be set on the Table at my Lords coming in.

But

But ſome that came with him, turned this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and Publiſhing through the Army, that it was a mighty Feaſt for my Lord of *Mount-Garrett* and the Rebels; and this through the *Engliſh* Quarters paſt for Currant. I believe it was much the Cauſe of that under-hand villanous proceeding againſt me, mentioned in my Brothers Letter. My Lady Dutcheſs and my Lord of *Antrim* ſoon left me going into their own Country in the North. For a while I Tided it out alone, till my Brother fetcht me to *Dublin*. You have ſeen by my Brothers Letter how I was Impriſoned, and no hopes of any relief from either the King, or Parliament ſitting in *England*. So that after twenty Weeks that I had remained in Priſon, I was ordered to be removed to the Caſtle of *Dublin*. Which Startled me, and brought to my thoughts the proceedings againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, who confiding in his Innocency loſt his

head.

head. I concluded then, that Innocency was a ſcurvy Plea in an angry time. Beſides I looked upon the Juſtices and moſt of the Council to be of the Parliaments perſuaſion. Wherefore I reſolved to attempt an Eſcape, and ſave my ſelf in the *Iriſh* Quarters. Which I did in this manner.

After the Battel of *Killruſh* there was one *George Lidwidge* an *Iriſh*-man and Trooper left wounded in my houſe; who being recovered, in acknowledgment of Kindneſſes received, often viſited me in Priſon. I found ſo much Fidelity in the man towards me, that I truſted him with my deſign; deſiring his aſſiſtance: which he promis'd. I then, giving him Mony, ordered him to buy me three Horſes for my ſelf and two Servants, with Sadles and Piſtols: which he did. And the next night juſt as the Maid was to ſhut the Door, it being dark, I ſlipt into the Street: leaving my two men in the houſe, and appointing them where they ſhould find me in the Morning. About Nine of the Clock they came out of the houſe, bid-

bidding the Maid make no noiſe, pretending that I was not well, and had not reſted that Night. They coming to me, the Guards of the Town withdrawn, and the Pattroles come in, were ſent before with the Son of the Trooper to the place, where our Horſes ſtood, to have them ready: the Trooper and my ſelf ſoon following, but I as his Man carrying a Saddle under my Arm. To be ſhort, we Mounted all on Horſeback; March'd as Troopers careleſly out of the Town; and took our way by *Temple-Oage* towards the Mountains of *Wicklow*. Where being come, I cared little for the Juſtices. But before Dinner my Eſcape was diſcovered by the people of the Houſe; and on Notice given to the Juſtices, I was purſued by a Party of Horſe taking their way to my houſe at *Madingſtown*. In the Night they inveſted it: but not finding me, after having poſſeſt themſelves of what I had within, and without, they killed many of my Servants, and Burnt the Houſe. I kept on my way

way towards *Kilkenny*, as much through the Fast Country as I could, till I arrived.

Where I found the Town very full, and many of my acquaintance: all preparing for their Natural defence; seeing no distinction made; or safety, but in Arms. To this end they had chosen amongst themselves, out of the most eminent Persons a Council, and gave it the Title of the *Supream Council of the Confederate Catholicks of* Ireland: and formed an Oath of *Association* by which all were bound to obey them. They had made Four Generals of the Four Provinces: *Preston* of *Leinster*, *Barry* of *Mounster*, *Owen-roe O Neal* of *Ulster*, and one *Burk* of *Conaught*: and being to give Commissions they caused a Seal to be made, which was the Seal of the Council. I was sent for to this Council to tell my Story, which I did. And then being askt, what I intended to do: I answer'd, To get into *France*, and so to *England*. Upon which they told me their condition, and what they were doing for their preservation; persuading

me to ſtay with them, being I was beloved in the Country, had three Siſters Married amongſt them, was perſecuted on the ſame ſcore they were, and ruined ſo, that we had no more to loſe but our Lives. I took two or three days to think of this Propoſition; examining the *Model of Government*, they had prepared againſt the meeting of the General Aſſembly, and moſt particularly their *Oath of Aſſociation*. Which Oath I judged to be very reaſonable, as the Caſe ſtood, it being as here followeth.

The Oath of Aſſociation.

I A, B. *Do Profeſs, Swear and Proteſt, before God, and his Saints, and his Angels, that I will, during my life, bear true Faith and Allegiance to my Sovereign Lord* Charles *by the Grace of God, King of* Great-Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *and to his Heirs and Lawful Succeſſors: and that I will to my power, during my life, defend, uphold, and maintain,*

tain, all his and their juſt Prerogatives, Eſtates and Rights, the Power and Privilege of the Parliament of this Realm, the Fundamental Laws of Ireland, *the free Exerciſe of the* Roman-Catholick *Faith, and Religion, throughout this Land, and the Lives, Juſt Liberties, Poſſeſſions, Eſtates, and Rights of all thoſe that have taken, or ſhall take this Oath, and perform the Contents thereof; and that I will obey and ratifie, all the Orders and Decrees made, and to be made, by the* Supream Council, *of the* Confederate Catholicks *of this Kingdom, concerning the ſaid Publick Cauſe: and that I will not ſeek directly or indirectly, any Pardon or Protection, for any Act done, or to be done touching this general Cauſe, without the Conſent of the* Major *part of the ſaid Council: and that I will not directly or indirectly do any Act or Acts, that ſhall prejudice the ſaid Cauſe; but will to the hazard of my Life, and Eſtate, Aſſiſt, Proſecute, and Maintain the ſame.*

Moreover I do farther Swear, that

I will not accept of, or ſubmit unto, any Peace, made or to be made, with the ſaid Confederate Catholicks, *without the conſent and approbation of the* General Aſſembly *of the ſaid* Confederate Catholicks. *And, for the preſervation and ſtrengthening of the* Aſſociation, *and union of the Kingdom, that upon any Peace, or accomodation to be made, or concluded with the ſaid* Confederate Catholicks, *as aforeſaid, I will, to the utmoſt of my Power inſiſt upon and maintain, the enſuing Propoſitions, until a Peace as aforeſaid be made, and the matters to be agreed upon, in the Articles of Peace, be Eſtabliſhed and ſecured by Parliament.*

So help me God, and his holy Goſpel.

SECT.

Sect. II.

He takes the Oath, and Employment. Chief heads of the Model of Government. Burras, Fore-Faukland, Byrrh, *and* Ballinikille *yield to* Preſton: *who not long after was twice defeated.* Caſtlehaven *begins his Command with an action of Charity. And then he forces* Crawford *from the Siege of* Balli-Brittas : *takes* Ballinunry, Clogrenen, *and* Ballilenan; *and withall defeats the ſuccour.*

ON the whole matter I returned to this Council, thank'd them for their good Opinion of me, and engaged my ſelf to run a Fortune with them. Whether Anger and Revenge did not incline me to it as much as any other conſideration, I cannot reſolve. This I well remember, that I conſider'd how I had been uſed, and ſeen my houſe burning as I paſs'd by : beſides, that I

was a light man, with no Charge, and not any hopes of redreſs from the King, who was then engaged in an Inteſtine War. Now being thus a Confederate, and having taken the *Oath*, they made me one of the Council, and General of the Horſe under *Preſton*.

The *Aſſembly* met the 24. of *Oct.* 1642. It differ'd nothing from a Parliament, other then that the Lords and Commons ſate together, and not in two Houſes. This you ſee was a force put upon us; and we hoped in time, the ſtorm being paſs'd, to return to our old Government under the King. We had many learned in the Law amongſt us, whom we encouraged to keep us, as near the old Government as might be, holding to the Ancient Laws of the Land.

That *Aſſembly* without delay approved all the Council had done, and ſettled a *Model of Government. viz.* that at the end of every *General Aſſembly*, the *Supream Council* ſhould be confirmed or changed as they thought fit. That it ſhould conſiſt of 25. ſix out of each Province, three

of

of the ſix ſtill reſident. The 25*th* was my ſelf with no Relation to any Province, but to the Kingdom in general. Every Province had a *Provincial Aſſembly*, which met on Occaſions: and each County had Commiſſioners for Applotting money within themſelves, as it came to their ſhares on the general Applotment of the Province. Many other things there were, as to Government. If a Letter came to them written in *Iriſh*, it would be wonder'd at; and hardly could one be found to read it. We were not in caſe to bring to Juſtice thoſe that begun the Rebellion. But I never ſaw any of them eſteemed or advanced. The *General Aſſembly* being put off, the Generals fell to their work: and my General took in *Burras*, *Fort-Faukland*, and *Birrh* in the Kings County, where I was with him.

And I had the good Fortune to begin my firſt commanding in the Wars with an Action of Charity. For going to ſee this Garriſon of *Birrh* before it marcht out, I came into a great room, where

many people of Quality were both men and women. They with many Tears ſo ſoon as they ſaw me, fell on their Knees, deſiring me to ſave their lives. I was aſtoniſhed at their poſture and Petition: and, deſiring them to riſe, ask'd what the matter was? They anſwered, that from the firſt day of the Wars, there had been continual action and much blood ſhed between them and their *Iriſh* Neighbours, and little Quarter on either ſide. And that therefore underſtanding that I was an *Engliſh* man, ſome knowing me, they deſired that I would take them into my Protection. I doubted that there was too much reaſon for their fears, conſidering they were to March two or three days, through the Woods of *Iregan* and waſte Countreys, before they came to *Athy* their next friends Garriſon. I went immediately to the General, and deſired that I might command their Convoy: which he granted. Then culling out two hundred Horſe and three hundred Foot, in whom I had moſt Confidence,

fidence, I March'd and delivered them with their Baggage ſafe. They were at leaſt eight hundred Men, Women and Children. I was with this General the *18th.* of *March* 42. when he was beaten at *Roſs* by the Marqueſs of *Ormond*; and by Colonel *Monk*, ſince Duke of *Albermarle*, at *Timochoe* in the Queens County the *5th.* of *Octob.* 42. Yet afterwards he beſieging *Ballynekill* in the ſame County, I ventured once more with him. Where he having Intelligence that Major General *Crawford* was beſieging *Ballybritas*, a Caſtle belonging to the Vicount *Clanmaleer*, he ſent me with a Party of fifteen hundred Horſe and Foot, to endeavour the ſuccouring of that place: which I did. *Crawford* drawing off, in paſſing the River of the *Barrow* in a skirmiſh had his Thigh broken with a Muſquett-ſhot. I returned as *Ballynekill* was rendred; and conveyed that Garriſon too, as I had done the other of *Byrrh.*

After this I remained at *Kilkenny* with the *Supream Council*; and *Preſton* went

went into the lower parts of the Province with the Army. Of whose absence the Enemies Garrisons in the County of *Catherloe*, and *Queens County* taking advantage, Alarm'd the County of *Kilkenny* even to the Gates of the City. I was then by the Council commanded to go against them. And therefore having gotten together about 2000 men with some Cannon, I Marched to *Ballenunry* in the County of *Catherloe*, and took it, as also *Clogrenan*. Where the County of *Wexford* Regiment Mutined; but were reduced, and some examples made, served well for the future. I Marched thence into the Queens County, and Besieged *Ballilenan* Commanded by the *Grimes*'s a Valiant People, with a strong Garrison. But a great breach being made, their Succour came by the way of *Athy*. I was not well at this Alarme, but laid upon my Bed in my Tent. However I made no great matter of it, knowing the Succour could not be considerable. But my Old Lord *Richard* Vicount of

Mount-

Mountgarret being abroad, ſent me advice that they were coming on in great haſt, and ſtronger than I thought, both in Horſe, and Foot, and were then near the end of the *Tougher*: which is a great way cut through a Bog, and I believe in length at leaſt half a Mile. Now I had a great Guard of Horſe and Foot at my end of the *Tougher*, with a Line thrown up before them. So I judged the danger not great. However I got on Horſe-back, taking with me 400 Horſe: and coming to my Guard, I ſaw ſome of the Enemy on the *Tougher* in their March. Whereupon I bad my Horſe and Guards follow me, and March towards them; thinking to haye fought them upon the *Tougher*. But they retired, and formed on a plain two Muſquet-ſhot off. I having paſs'd the *Tougher*, prepared to Charge. But they Drew off again, and did not ſtand me till they had gotten through a Gap in a Ditch with water to the Belly. Being paſt they lined the Ditch with Muſqueteers, drawing up their Horſe and

and Foot close by to defend this Gap. Sir *Walter Butler* with his Squadron, begun the Fight; but being Wounded in the Ditch with a Pike through his Thigh, his men fell off; and a second Squadron Charged and did the like. But the Enemy seeing more Squadrons coming on, in the smoke took their advantage to run away: which we could not see, till the smoke was over. Then we followed, and could not Engage them till they recovered *Athy*, which was near. I guessed them to be about three hundred Horse, and seven or eight hundred Foot. Their Succour thus beaten in their view, the besieged Garrison yielded on condition to March out with their Arms. The small Garrisons in those Parts made no resistance. I was much favoured in these my first undertakings, by having been in my youth a great Hunter in those parts of Deer, Wolves, and Foxes. So that there was no passage in Bog or Mountain, or Ford in a River that I did not know. This little beginning gave me some

ſome Reputation and as near as I could what I wanted in experience was ſupplied by diligence and good Intelligence.

Sect. III.

He Defeats Sir Charles Vavaſor *in* Mounſter. *By occaſion of a Trumpet ſent from* Ormond *he moves the Council for Peace. Commanded with three thouſand men againſt* Monk, *he takes* Dullarſtown, Tully, Laccach, *and many other Caſtles in the County of* Kildare, *and in* Leix. *Submits to the Ceſſation.*

MY Lord of *Inchiquin* was all this while Maſter of the Field in *Mounſter*; having won ſome Battels, beaten the *Iriſh* in all parts, and in a manner ſubdued that Province, four or five Towns excepted. And with theſe he was going now to work, beginning with *Kilmallock* in the County of *Limbrick*,

brick, and ſitting down before it with an Army of ſeven Thouſand men. This Alarmed the *General Aſſembly* then ſitting at *Kilkenny*: but moſt particularly thoſe of that Province. Whereupon, after many Conſults among themſelves, they concluded at laſt to ask ſuccour of the *General Aſſembly*; though they ſaw but little hopes of any in that exigency: for *Preſton* was far off with the Army. Wherefore opening themſelves more clearly, than perhaps they would have otherwiſe done, they layed claim to me, as having my Earldom and Eſtate in their Province, though I was an Officer of *Leimſter*. Alleadging farther that their General was old and Unfortunate: and that if I had the Command all would joyn in the defence of their Country, and take new Courage. I was preſent at this propoſition; and, though I had ambition and vanity enough, did heartily oppoſe it, having no proſpect of any Succeſs. But my Lord of *Muskry*, being my great friend, and of that Province, deſired the *Aſſembly* to com-

mand

mand me by vertue of the Oath of *Aſſociation*. Which they did; and then there could be no more reply. It being thus ordered: and, which was purſuant to it, that my Commiſſion under the Great Seal of the Confederates to Command in Chief for that expedition, ſhould be immediately diſpatched: I was ask'd, what Troops were near at hand? I anſwered, that I knew of none, but of my own Life-Guard of Horſe. 'Tis true I had obſerved many ſtragling Horſe in the Town; but they would not be brought together without Mony. Some Money was then given out, and by Ten of the Clock next morning I had gotten together Eighty Horſe, and put them under the Command of *Garrett Talbot* Brother to Sir *Robert Talbot*. Theſe with my Life-Guard Commanded by Captain *Fits Gerrald*, commonly called *Garrat Garrah*, made in all one hundred and twenty Horſe. With theſe I March'd, accompanied with my Lord of *Muskry*, ſince made Earl of *Clancarty*, and ſome others of the Province. On the Fron-

tier

tier of it I met about a huudred and twenty Horſe more, moſt Gentlemen, and formed into a Squadron. But at *Caſhel* I was received by the General of the Province *Barry*, the Lieutenant-General *Purcel*, and ſome other Officers with ſeven hundred Foot.

That night I had Intelligence, that the Lord of *Inchiquin* had raiſed his Siege, and March'd with four or five Thouſand men into the County of *Kerry*. But had ſent Sir *Charles Vavaſor* with ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred men, to take in *Clohlea*, a Caſtle then belonging to the *Condons*. I Marched immediately towards him, and before night Encamped within three Miles of him; the Mountain only between us. My Brother *Richard Butler*, Brother to the Duke of *Ormond*, was ſent out the ſame night to diſcover the Enemy. In the Morning word was brought that the Caſtle was taken, and the Garriſon after Quarter given put to the Sword, and my Brother Engaged. I loſt no time, but March'd in all haſt with my Horſe to his

his Succour: which joyned with his, made up two hundred and forty, or two hundred and fifty at the most. The Foot marched also. But the old General came on so slowly that I had defeated the Enemy before he came within two Miles.

The manner thus. Sir *Charles Vavasor*, though he had taken the Castle, remained still in his Camp, till seeing me on the Top of the Mountain above him, come to succour mine that were skirmishing, he drew to Arms; but being amongst Hedges and Ditches, and the Castle between us, I could not come at him, till he marched towards *Castle Lions*: where in a large plain he formed. But I, going by the advantage of a great valley, came into the plain unseen, almost as soon as he. And, having ordered three or four Squadrons of Boys on Horse-back to possess the ground from whence I came, I lost no time in the Charge that Defeated his Horse; who to save themselves broke in on the Foot. Their Cannons were useless, being past

the Black-water. This, with Gods bleſſing, and a great ſhower of rain, gave me the victory with little or no loſs. Sir *Charles* that Commanded, with ſeveral other Officers remained Priſoners; their Cannon and Baggage taken; all their Foot defeated; but their Horſe for the moſt part eſcaped. This happened on a Sunday, the 4*th* of *June* 1643. about twelve a Clock at Noon.

Now having left the beſt advice I could for the improving this advantage, I took leave of the General with others of the Province: and returning to *Kilkenny* gave the Aſſembly an account of what had paſſed, in order to their Commands.

Soon after, the *Aſſembly* being broke up, and a *Supream Council* choſen to Govern in their abſence, I retired to *Kilkaſh* my Brother *Butlers* houſe to reſt my ſelf. The *Council* went to *Roſs*: and whilſt they were there, a Trumpet brought them a Letter from the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, ſetting forth his

his being appointed by the King to hear our grievances, and to Treat for an accommodation. The particulars of the Letter I knew not; but the Trumpet was quickly dispatched with some slight Answer. Which coming to my knowledge, I repaired to *Kilkenny*, whether the *Council* was returned. And on Information finding what I had heard to be true, I sent for Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Barnwel*, Colonel *Walter Bagnal*, and such others as were in the Town being well affected and leading men of the *Assembly*, though not of the *Council*. Now being in my Lodging, I acquainted them with what understood: and, that if they would stick to me, I would endeavour to give it a turn. We all agreed on the way: which was, To go to the Council then sitting, take notice of the Kings Offer, and their Return, and to mind them, that the Consideration, and resolutions concerning Peace and War, the *General Assembly*, reserved to themselves only: and therefore to requirethat theywould

send immediately a Trumpet of their own, with a Letter to the Marquels of *Ormond*, giving him to understand, they had Issued Summons for a *General Assembly*, in order to acknowledge the Kings gracious favour in naming him his Commissioner to hear our Aggrievances and redress them. This we put in execution, and gained our point without much resistance.

The Marquels of *Ormond* being thus brought into a Treaty, the Confederate Commissioners met at *Seginstown* near the *Nasse* as his Excellency had appointed, in order to a Cessation of Arms. At which time all Parties laboured to get into Possession of what they could. Colonel *Monk* after made Duke of *Albemarle* March'd into the County of *Wicklow* to take in the Harvest, and Possess some Castles. I being then Commanded by the Council to go against him, and having Rendevouz'd my Troops consisting of about three Thousand Horse and Foot, at *Ballynekil* in the County of *Caterloe*, Notice was brought

brought me that Colonel *Monk* was March'd away in all haſt, to the Aſſiſtance of the Lord *Moor*, then facing *Owen-Roe Oneal* near *Portleſter*. I finding my ſelf now to have nothing to do, thought it worth the while to endeavour taking in *Dulerſtown*, *Tully*, *Lacagh*, and all other Caſtles in the County of *Kildare*, between the Rivers of the Barrow and *Liffe*. Which I did, leaving Garriſons in them. This done I repaſt the *Barrow* at *Minſter-Evin*, March'd into *Leix*, and took threee or four ſmall places. But as I was going on, had advice from the Commiſſioners at *Seginſtown*, that they had on the 15*th* *Septemb.* 1643 concluded a Ceſſation of Arms with the Marqueſs of *Ormond*. To which I ſubmitted.

Sect. IV.

Scots *of* Ulſter *obey not the Ceſſation.* Owen O Neal *in the Aſſembly at* Waterford. Caſtlehaven *choſen General of the Northern expedition* (*which ſhould have conſiſted of* 11000) *againſt* Monro's *Army of* 17000. *His apprehenſions thereupon. Before this Campagn open'd, he is ſent to reduce* Caſtle-Carroe *and* Caſtlebar *in* Connaught; *and does ſo. Rendevous at* Granard. Scots *deſign to ſurprize him there, fruſtrated: and ſo his to ſurprize them at* Toinregaoh. *Horſe fight here. He Camps at* Charlemont, *and* Monro *hard by at* Ardmagh; *neither able to force the other.* Owen O Neal *performs nothing promis'd. Stratagem; ſafe Retreat, and putting the Army* (*conſiſting of above* 8000) *into Winter-Quarters.*

BUt General *Monro* ſometime before being arrived in *Ulſter*, from *Scot-*

Scotland with ten Thouſand new *Scots*: and having Sir *Robert Steward* joyned to him with five or ſix Thouſand of the old *Scots* Natives of that Province; as alſo ſome *Engliſh* under the Command of Sir *Audley Mervin*, Sir *Theophilus Jones* and others; would not ſubmit to this Ceſſation. They forced General *O Neal*, to ſo great ſtraits, having ſometime before Defeated him, in the Encounter where *Con-O Neal* was killed with many others, that in the beginning of Winter, leaving his Troops & Crejaghts to ſhift the beſt they could, he came to the *General Aſſembly*, held at *Waterford*. Where he ſet forth the lamentable Condition of his people, deſiring the Aſſiſtance of the other three Provinces: and in the name of his Province, undertaking to joyn to their Forces four Thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe: but withal declaring, that otherwiſe he with his Forces and Creiaghts ſhould be obliged to ſave themſelves in the other Provinces: and ſo get ſubſiſtance as well as they could. This laſt point

of *Owen O Neals* Speech, beſides their perſuaſion that the *Scots* would not fail ſoon to follow him and viſit them, made the *Aſſembly* come to a quick Concluſion, and agree to ſend ſix Thouſand Foot and ſix hundred Horſe out of the other three Provinces. So that the Army was to conſiſt of ten Thouſand Foot and one Thouſand Horſe. But it coming to the Queſtion who ſhould be General of this Army, they went to the Election after this manner. The *Aſſembly* ſitting, thoſe they thought fit to come in competition, they cauſed their names, one under an other, to be written down, and from each a long Line drawn. Then at the Table where the Clerk ſate, every Member of the *General Aſſembly*, one after another with a Pen puts a Daſh, on the Line of him that he would have to be General. And to the end that none ſhould mark more than once, four or five were Choſen out of the *Aſſembly*, two of which were Biſhops, to overlook this marking, being on their

Oath

Oath. Now, contrary to *Owen O Neals* exſpectation, who had deſigned this Generalſhip for himſelf by which he would be *Generaliſſimo*, I was choſen. Which he took extremely much to heart; as I have reaſon to believe. However he carryed it fairly; and came to Congratulate me; giving withal great Aſſurances of his performance and readineſs to ſerve me. Next day a Commiſſion was ſent me, with orders to prepare all things for this expedition; which I did. But the farther I look'd into the matter, the worſe I liked it. For I conſidered that I was now to make War in a Country where I had never been: and in a Country too where we had not ſo much as one Town; but the Enemy had many.

That by all Intelligence they could draw into the Field ſixteen or ſeventeen Thouſand men. That if *Owen O Neal* ſhould perform, and deal fairly with me: yet all I was to expect did not exceed ten Thouſand Foot, and a Thouſand Horſe. That having no Towns

in

in the Province, we ſhould be forced to bring all our Proviſions from the other Provinces where I had my Magazines. That I muſt depend upon *O Neal* for Intelligence. For by ſuch lights I always Guided my ſelf in my former ſmall undertakings. But that which moſt of all troubled me, was that I did not ſee how I could avoid a Battel, if the Enemy had a mind to it: being I was to make an Offenſive War. I had alſo this other conſideration to diſcourage me, That although our Parties had commonly the better; yet our Armies had commonly the worſt. This was experimented in ſeveral Battels. And the reaſon was clear and obvious. Moſt of all the great Towns in the Kingdom were the Enemies and Gariſoned; and of the few Towns we had, there was but one, to wit *Kilkenny*, that would receive a Gariſon. So that at our coming out of every Field as the Enemy returned into their Gariſons, where they were with their Officers and kept in Diſcipline; ours were diſperſed all the

the Kingdom over, into little Villages and odd houſes; never ſeeing an Officer till the next Campagne. And therefore they came to their Rendevous in the beginning of every field like new men half changed; and for the Horſe, ſo haggled out in riding up and down to ſee their friends, that they ſeem'd hardly able to draw their Legs after them; and both Horſe and Foot with ruſty Arms and not fixt. But how plainly ſoever I ſaw my ill condition, I muſt through as well as I could; yet withal reſolving to avoid a Battel by all means, and ſeek to make my War by Parties, and Surpriſes, where new men are as good as old. Now having more then time before the Campagne, I was commanded by the *Supream Council* to March into *Connaught* to reduce ſome of our own Party, which had ſet up for themſelves in the County of *Mayoe*, and had poſſeſſed *Caſtle Carroe*, and *Caſtle Barre*; the former Commanded by one *Burk*; the latter by the Lord of *Mayoe*. I took with me two Thouſand men

men, and paſt the *Shanon* at *Fort-faukland*; the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard* permitting me to paſs through his Country. Theſe Caſtles made little reſiſtance. After they had yielded, I ſent my Party, under the Command of Sir *James Dillon*, into the County of *Roscommon*, to reduce the *Armstrongs* and ſome others that held Garriſons and would not ſubmit to the Ceſſation. When he had done his work, which he was not long about, he return'd into *Leinſter*, and lodg'd the Troops as he was ordered.

In the mean while, I had gone to *Kilkenny*, and ſet my ſelf to the great Work; ſtill having ſome miſtruſt of *Owen O Neal*'s performance. Wherefore I deſired the Council, to grant me four hundred Horſe and Dragoons more, in caſe I could raiſe them without Charge: which I did.

The firſt Rendevous that I made in order to this Field, was 1644 about Midſummer, in the County of *Longford*, at a place called *Granard* where I had appointed three Thouſand Horſe and

and Foot with two or three Field-pieces: intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole Army, which might be four or five days; for *O Neal* was neer Encamped at *Portlester*, and the rest were Marching as ordered. By my spies, that met me at this Rendevous, and came in haft, all agreed that they had left the Enemy near a certain Mountain threescore Miles of; that they were seventeen Thousand strong, with one and twenty days Provision in Oaten Meal, which they carried on their own, and little Horses backs; no Cannon or other Baggage; and were ready to March. I thought my self pretty secure for that Night; but at twelve of the Clock, one from *Carun* assured me that he had left the whole Army there: and that their Horse and Dragoons would be with me in the morning. On this advice, I packt off as fast as I could, and gain'd *Port-Lester*, ordering the rest of the Army to come thither: and at the instant Commanded a Colonel with five or six hundred

Foot

Foot and a hundred Horſe to defend the Bridge of *Fienagh*. It was of ſtone, and a Caſtle on our End. I ſent with him Shovels, Pickaxes, and Spades, with plenty of Ammunition. The Enemy, according to my Intelligence, came at Sun-riſing into the Camp I had left, and ſhewed themſelves the next day before that Bridge. My unfortunate Colonel, ſent over his Horſe to Skirmiſh; and when they were far enough out, on a ſudden the Enemy mingled with them. Which was the cauſe that our Foot could do nothing; but through fear to kill their own, left Bridge, Caſtle, and all free for the Enemy. However this availed them little. For finding me well Poſted, though *O Neal* was of another opinion, their Proviſions ſhrunk, and being at leaſt twelve days March from their own Country, they ſtaid not to give me farther trouble, but haſtened homewards.

Now then I was at leiſure to call on General *O Neal* for his four Thouſand Foot and four hundred Horſe; being

ing resolved to follow the Enemy, and try my Fortune in *Ulster*, as I was designed to do. He excused himself by Reason of the continual Alarms in his Countrey, that he could not at present make good his Word; but withal assuring me again, that so soon as I came into the Province I should have no reason to complain. Having this assurance, I March'd on with my six Thousand Foot and a Thousand Horse and Dragoons: and *O Neal* joyned to me about two hundred Horse and three or four hundred Foot; his Creiaghts Marching with us, being all the *Irish* with their Cattle of that Province. When he had drawn me on as far as *Toinregoah*, I had intelligence that the Enemy had revictualled themselves, and were returning to encounter me. Whereupon I prest *O Neal* very hard to make good his Word. Who plainly told me that he could not do it; alledging that his people were all amongst the Creiaghts, and every one looking to save what he had. In this sad condition,

dition, I blamed my own Weakneſs in being perſuaded with fair Promiſes, to come ſo far into an Enemies Country; however I was reſolved to ſee the Enemy, then Encamped at *Drummore Sueagh*. And therefore taking ſuch Guides as *O Neal* would give me, and leaving the Command of the Camp to him, in the evening I March'd with my Thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and fifteen hundred Commanded Foot. Theſe I left on a Paſs about three Miles from my Camp, to make good my retreat; intending to fall with my Horſe into their Horſe-Quarter. But, whether Wittingly or Willingly in my Guides, it was Sun-riſing when I came within two Miles of their Horſe-Quarter. And yet ſtill though I had loſt my deſign, I would ſee the Enemy. And to this end, perceiving ſome of their Horſe at Graſs, I, being drawn under a Hill near a little River, where there was a Stone-bridge, ſent a Party to take thoſe Horſes; which they did, and brought them to me. But their Guard

Guard of Horſe being near, after my Horſe were come back, ſeized the Bridge and defended it. I ſent men to beat them off; but it would not do. Then I ſent another Party; the ſame ſtill. Whilſt this was a diſputing, I perceived a hundred Foot coming over a great plain. Then I Galloped down my ſelf with ſome Officers, and more Horſe. So paſſing the Bridge, I had the cutting off that hundred Foot, without reſiſtance. A Party of mine purſued the Horſe that ran from the Bridge; but before they overtook them they were met with another which routed them. And others of mine put them alſo to the run. Before this Fight ended, moſt of the Horſe on both ſides were Engaged. The Enemy at laſt drew off: and ſo did I to my Army.

Being returned to my Camp, I acquainted *O Neal* with what had paſt, and how the Enemies Army were advancing according to my intelligence. Whereupon he adviſed me to retire to *Charlemount*, a Fort where he had a

Gariſon. I followed his advice, and found it a very good Poſt, there being a large plain joyned to it, on the one ſide runs the black Water, and near the Fort a Bridge over it; the reſt ſurrounded with Bogs and Mooriſh Ground. My Horſe lay Encamped at *Benburb*, on the other ſide the River. At the ſame time that I came into this place, *Monro* with his Army arrived at *Armagh* about two or three Miles diſtant, and there Encamp'd fortifying himſelf. Thus neither of us being able to Engage the other, we lay in pretty good Correſpondence: and the ſmall War we had was chiefly in cutting off of Convoys. My Proviſions came much harder to me than his to him: and *O Neal* began to be very weary of ſometimes aſſiſting me with Cows. So that after two Months, I reſolved the endeavouring to gain my own Country: ſeeing no hopes of any forces from *O Neal*. Which to Effect, for I did not deſire fighting, I cauſed a *Tougher* or great way to be cut through the Bog, near

near the Fort, leading to *Toinregaoh* by which their Proviſions came. This way being finiſht, I knowing their days took my time, to paſs moſt of my Horſe, and ſome Foot, ſhewing them beyond the *Tougher*, as if that night I intended ſtraight for *Toinregaoh*. *Monro* having this Intelligence poſted away, a great Party of Horſe and Foot to ſecure his Convoy. But the night being come I turned, and in ſtead of Marching towards *Toinregaoh*, paſt over the Bridge with the whole Army: leaving my Cannon and Baggage in the Fort, with a ſtrong Gariſon, plenty of Ammunition, and all the Proviſion I could poſſibly ſcrape to put in. That night I March'd, and all the next day, taking a great round before I could have my own Country on my back; which having obtained, in the County of *Cavan* I faced towards the Enemy, about five or ſix Miles from them. Which *Monro* knowing, and finding that I lay eaſier for my Proviſions then he did, raiſed his Camp and March'd to his own

Country. It being now late in the year; I, thus Free of him, ſent a Party of Horſe and Foot to bring off my Cannon, and what I left in the Fort; and ſo March'd to *Fienaegh*, where I met Commiſſioners from the *Supream Council* to receive the Army, and lodge them on the three Provinces, together with fifteen hundred *Ulſter* men which on my Order came to me out of *Conought*, being of no Army but endeavouring to live by ſtrong hand; which I could not admit. Thus ended the *Ulſter* expedition, like to be ſo fatal to the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*, through the failing or ſomething elſe of General *Owen Roe O Neal*. But after all, the three Provinces had no reaſon to complain of this Campagne. For this Army they ſent, kept them from being troubled either with *Scots*, or *Ulſter* People, that year.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Views the Siege of Duncannon, *how laid, and that ſtrong place taken by General* Preſton. *Is ſent with an Army to* Mounſter *againſt* Inchiquin, *of late declared for the Parliament. Dean* Boyle's *meſſage.* Capper-Quin *and* Michaelſtown *taken. Skirmiſh of Horſe near the* Black-water. Mallow, Donerail *and* Liscarrol *yield.* Miltown *and* Conycaſtle *taken by a ſtorm of* 3000 *Garſoons, meer ſervant Boys that belong'd to the Army. A Flood hinders the relieving of* Ballimartir. *Yet he ſurprizes* Roſtellan *and ſeveral Officers in it: and then forces* Caſtle-Lions *and* Liſmore *to Surrender. Marches ſtraight to* Cork. *Blind ſcuffle there by night. Returns to* Tallow, *and thence goes to* Youghhal. *In that way all the little Caſtles ſubmit. An unexſpected mutinous Accident at one of them. What done*

at Youghal. *The Snow falling, he retires to* Capper-Quin, *and ſo ends this Campagne.*

HAving thus left the Army with Commiſſioners, on Muſter, more than eight Thouſand ſtrong, (for I had been recruited with ſeveral Companies) I took my way to *Kilkenny*, ill pleaſed that the Treaty of Peace train'd ſo long: and deſigned not to ſtir from the Council till I ſaw it concluded. But coming there, I found the *Supream Council* in great Conſternation. For *Duncannon* that Commanded the harbour of *Waterford*, was declared for the Parliament: as alſo my Lord of *Inchiquin* Commanding in *Mounſter*, who before, had not only ſubmitted to the Ceſſation, but carried with him a conſiderable number of his Troops into *England* to ſerve the King. Now taking there ſome diſguſt, as 'tis ſaid, becauſe the *Preſidency* of *Mounſter* was given to the Earl of *Portland*, he returns, and declares for the Parliament, Command-

ing

ing by their Commiſſion as *Preſident* of *Mounſter*. Thoſe of *Waterford* now preſſed the taking in of *Duncannon*: making great offers to the Council of large aſſiſtance. *Preſton* is named for this work, and ſent with three or four Thouſand men, Miners, and a good Train of Artillery; it being within his Province. And I having the curioſity to ſee it, left the Council, and followed him. I will relate the particulars of this Siege, becauſe the only in form that I ſaw in *Ireland*. He made not any line of Circumvallation, fearing no ſuccour that could come on the Land-ſide: but began his approaches with two Attacks: and being come near the place, joyned them with a line of Communication: and then ran them on divided to the two ends of the Curtain. Thoſe within made a good defence, and loſt nothing in ſix weeks, only the Beſiegers had made a lodging in the Ditch. At this time two or three Parliament Frigats arriv'd, with ſuccour of Men, Ammunition, and Proviſions; coming

to Anchor within leſs then Cannon-ſhot of the Fort. But before they could man out their Boats; ſo horrible a Storm aroſe, that in eight or ten days none could come on ſhore. Whereupon thoſe within, being in deſpair, and preſs'd with ſome eſſential want, yielded.

All this while my Lord of *Inchiquin* over-ran *Mounſter*, and coming to *Caſhel*, the people retired to the Rock, where the Cathedral Church ſtands, and thought to defend it. But 'twas carried by Storm, the Souldiers giving no Quarter. So that within and without the Church, there was a great Maſſacre, and amongſt others more than twenty Prieſts and Religious men kill'd.

Towards the Spring the Council ordered me to go againſt him; and to begin the Field as early as I could. The Enemy in this Province had always been victorious, beating the Confederates in every Place; never having received Check, but in the mentioned

Encounter

Encounter at *Cloghleah*. So that every Gentlemans Houſe, or Caſtle was Gariſoned, and kept the Country in awe. To begin this Field then, I made my firſt rendevous at *Clonmel*, and the Army Encamped near it. Thither Dean *Boyl*, now Lord *Chancellor* of *Ireland*, and then Married to my Lord of *Inchiquins* Siſter came, and there he found me. His buſineſs was to perſuade me, to ſpare *Donerail*, and other Houſes, and Caſtles, not Tenable. I anſwered, that I deſired it, as much as he; though hitherto they had annoyed the Country equally, as if they had been ſtrong. I told him in ſhort, I had order to take all I could: and ſuch as I thought not fit to Gariſon, to deſtroy. Yet, if he pleaſed to cauſe the Gariſons to be drawn out, and by Letters from the Owners, to put them into my hands, I would appoint ſome few men into them, with Commanders in whom I moſt confided, and make it my Buſineſs to preſerve them, by interceeding to the Council. The Dean and I parted very

very good Friends. But whether he could or no, prevail with my Lord of *Inchiquin* or the Owners, I know not. I am ſure, I heard no more from him.

Soon after, that is, about the 5. of *Ap.* 1645. I Marched towards *Capper-Quin*, my Army conſiſting of about five Thouſand Foot, a Thouſand Horſe, and twelve Braſs pieces of Cannon, ſome of twenty four, and others of eighteen pound Bullet. Viewing the place, I ſoon perceived where they miſtook that Beſieged it formerly, and after much time ſpent with great loſs of men, were enforced to quit it. There being a Town and a Caſtle that Commanded it, they Attack'd the Town; and I, on the contrary, the Caſtle; which yielded, the Town could not reſiſt. *Drommane* fell likewiſe into my hands. Whilſt I was ordering theſe places, I wrote a Letter to the Commander of *Lismore*, a houſe of my Lord of *Corks*, I think one Major *Poor*. I endeavoured to perſuade him to put that place

place into my hands, that it might be preſerved: for let the Gariſon be what he pleaſed; it could not reſiſt. I gave him many reaſons why I deſired the preſervation of that place, as if it were my own. But he anſwered that his Honour was above all: that he would hold out to the laſt: and doubted not of timely Succour. So I left Mr. *Poor*, and Marched to *Michaelſtown*; which after ſome ſhot of Cannon, was rendred. Then, having Intelligence that ſix or ſeven hundred Horſe were come over the *Black-water*, Marching towards me, and at that time Drawn up, on a Hill in the great plains of *Roches* Country: I March'd the Army towards them, not knowing whether my Lord of *Inchiquin* might not be near with his Army. But theſe Horſe, when we were well in ſight, retired. Whereupon Lieutenant General *Purcel* (with ſeveral other Officers and Gentlemen of the Country) who had been viewing them at near hand, came Galloping to me, and ſaying that the Enemy were running

running away, preſt me earneſtly to let him have my Horſe, for they had them ſo ſure that they could not eſcape. I making difficulty, they ſaid it was, becauſe I knew not the Country. But I ſaw ſo much that yielding to their deſire I ſhould be left expos'd in a great Champion Country, with an Army of Foot and Cannon, without Horſe. Yet after all (which I count certainly among other my Follies) I ſuffered my ſelf to be perſuaded: they March'd away in great haſt: I followed ſlowly; and coming to the *Black-water*, near the Ford of *Fermoy*, drew my Foot and Cannon into an old *Danes* Work; *Ireland* being full of them. Having ſtaid there pretty long, and hearing no News of my Horſe, I began to be uneaſie. But remembring that I had a Guard of Horſe on ſome Beeves, that were for the Proviſion of the Army, I ſent for them. And at the ſame time, unexpected, came *Garrot Garrow* with my old Life-Guard of Horſe to me out of *Leinſter*. Theſe and thoſe making in all

all a hundred, I preſently took with me, to ſee what became of the Troops ſent with *Purcel*. But firſt I ordered fifteen hundred Foot to ſtand in a readineſs. Then finding by the Track, that my Horſe had paſſed the Ford, and taken their way towards *Caſtle-Lions*: I followed. Being come near the Top of the Hill above the Ford, I left theſe few Horſe I had with me drawn up; and with ſome Officers went my ſelf to the height to diſcover. Thence I ſaw all the Enemy formed in a great plain, with a ſhrub wood before them: and my Horſe in haſt, Marching through to Charge, having with them a hundred Commanded Foot. But the Enemy ſeeing the Squadrons broken, as they came on the plain, gave them no time, but Charged and Defeated them. On ſight of this diſorder, and the Enemy purſuing, when they came near me, I advanced, Crying out to my own men, that they ſhould Rally behind me. The Enemy, ſeeing theſe Freſh Horſe, and not knowing but the Army

my might be near, purſued no farther, but drew up. The fifteen hundred Commanded Foot that I had ſent for, ſoon came to me. On ſight of which the Enemy retiring to *Caſtle Lions*, I followed; but could not engage them, it beginning to be dark. Hence I March'd to *Malloe* and took it, but with ſome ſhot of Cannon, and left a Gariſon in it. *Donerail* and *Liscarrel* made no reſiſtance. But *Miltown*, a better place and a good Gariſon, ſtood out. So that I thought it would coſt ſome trouble. But whilſt the Batteries were preparing, 2 or 3000 Boys belonging to the Army that uſe to form themſelves into Battallions, having gotten Crows of Iron, Pickaxes, and other Inſtruments, a little before Sun-ſet fell on the place, intending as I think, only to have taken the Cows and Sheep within a Court, which was walled. But Succeſs carried them farther, and they took the Caſtle by ſtrong hand. So all that ſide of the *Black-water* being cleared, I ſent the Army for ſome days into Quarters of refreſh-

refreſhment: & I went my ſelf to *Kilmallock*, and other places where my Magazines were. In the mean time my Lord of *Inchiquin*, having taken *Roſtellan*, beſieged *Ballymarter*, a Caſtle belonging to his Unkle, *Edmund Fitz Gerrald Seneſcal* of *Imokelle*. My Army being come together, I March'd to ſuccour it. But there being a Flood in the *Blackwater*, I was hindred for two days. So that when I came in ſight of the place, I found it taken, and burning, and the Enemy retreating, ſome to *Cork*, others to *Toughal*.

Having thus loſt my deſign of Succouring the place, and that, which I wiſht moſt, Engaging the Enemy: I ſtaid Encamped near this burnt Caſtle two or three days: thinking what to do. At length I got intelligence, that Colonel *Henry Obryan* Brother to the Lord of *Inchiquin*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Courtney*, with ſeveral other Officers, were come by Boat to *Roſtellan* to make merry: and that, the Tide fallen, their Boats were a ground, and ſo would continue

tinue till High-Water. On the certainty of this I loſt no time, but ſent immediately a Party to ſeiſe the Boats, lying more than Muſquet-ſhot from the Caſtle; following as faſt as I could with the Army: which being come up, I preſently fell to the work, planting my Guns: the Batteries made by my Lord of *Inchiquin* not being deſtroyed. In the morning the places yielded on diſcretion. Hence I March'd to *Caſtle Lions*: which after ſome battering yielded. I took my March then towards *Lismore*. But *Cony-Caſtle* lying on a Paſs in my way, and ſending, on Summons, a defiance, I Encamped before it: thinking to plant my Guns that Night. But the Boys eaſed me of the Trouble, and took it before it was dark by Storm, as they did the former. I wrote again to the Governour of *Lismore*, to put that place into my hands, that I might turn the Army another way; having as much kindneſs for the owner as he could have. But, not prevailing, I inveſted it. And, having ordered the Batteries, left Lieu-

tenant

tenant General *Purcel* to Command, and trie if he could have better Succeſs with that place now, than formerly he had had, when he Beſieged it; and ſo rode to *Kilkenny*, as not willing to be preſent at the deſtruction of a Houſe, where I had formerly received very many Civilities. At my return, being five or ſix days after, I found the place yielded, and the Gariſon Marching out. After which, being Encamped at *Tallow*, Intelligence was brought that Colonel *Mac William Ridgeway*, was gone from *Cork* into the County of *Limbrick* with a great Party of Horſe and ſome Foot. I Marched immediately with all my Horſe, and fifteen hundred Foot, ſtraight for *Cork*. Coming near, I left the Foot to make good my Retreat. About an hour in the night I arrived near the Gates; and put my ſelf on the way to *Malloe*; by which *Mac William* was to return: and gently Marching, met ſome of the Enemy. They being charged made no reſiſtance: but the night being extreme-

ly dark, ſcattered. So, little execution could be done upon them; though ſome were killed, and others taken. In this blind Scuffel Captain *James Brown*, Brother to Sir *Valentine Brown*, a brave Gentleman, was ſlain. By the Priſoners we found that their Commander *Mac William Ridgeway* had been killed that day, ſhot out of a Caſtle in *Roches* Country. Which way they had taken to return with the Body, we could not find. We marched a little forwards; but it being ſo dark that nothing could be done, I return'd with my Party to *Tallow*, and March'd the Army towards *Youghal*. All Caſtles on the way ſubmitted on eaſie Terms. I will only take notice of one, becauſe of the accident; though I have forgotten the name of the place. I remember it was a Caſtle that yielded early in the morning without reſiſtance. Now preſently after the yielding of it, the Weather being very fair, I went a Hunting; leaving Colonel *Heneſey* to ſee the Quarter made good; which was to

March

March with their Arms, bag and baggage. But the Soldiers having been uſed to taking of places by ſtrong hand, and ſo enriching themſelves by Plunder, would have done the like by this, though it had Conditions. To prevent any ſuch matter, the Colonel and ſeveral Officers went into the Caſtle, joyning with the Gariſon in its defence. But the Foot nevertheleſs fell on: and great ſhooting there was on all ſides. Which I hearing returned in haſt, thinking my Lord of *Inchiquin* had attempted ſomething. The Soldiers ſeeing me come ſooner than they expected, ran all into the Woods adjoyning. When I came to the Caſtle, and Colonel *Heneſey* had related the matter, I made the Gariſon March out, according to their Conditions. Then I began to enquire after my Mutineers, cauſing the Trumpets to ſound, and Drums to beat, for drawing all to their Arms. Some time it was before theſe Gentlemen, could be gotten together. Being now in order of a Battel both Horſe and Foot, I went

from Battallion to Battallion telling them their Fault: and what the conſequence might have been: and concluded that they all merited Death. Which they acknowledging, I added, that ſome Juſtice muſt be done: and asked them, whether they were contented for examples ſake to deliver two out of each Battallion, as it ſhould fall amongſt them by Lots. They agreed. But when they came to be Shot, I thought the number too great, and made them throw again for two only; which Suffered. Being come before *Toughal*, I Encamped looſly, thinking to diſtreſs the place: and towards the Sea near *Crokers* works, I ſent Major General *Butler* with fifteen hundred men, and ſome ſmall pieces to hinder Succour that might come by Sea. Whilſt this was doing, I in a night with a Party and two peices of Cannon, paſt the *Black Water* at *Temple Michael*: and before day had my two Guns planted, at the Ferry point over againſt *Toughal*, and within leſs than Musquet-

ſhot

ſhot of two Parliament Frigats. At the ſecond ſhot one blew up. But the Town, endeavouring to requite my Kindneſs, in a morning fell on Major General *Butler*, and took one of his Guns. Soon after this came a Fleet of Boats, and bigger Veſſels ſent by my Lord of *Inchiquin* from *Cork*, with ſupplies of Men and Proviſion, and ſuccoured the Town. On which I March'd off, and Triffled out the remain of the Campagne in deſtroying the Harveſt. Only a Party of my men attempted to plunder the *Great Iſland* near *Barries Court*. But being ill guided in Paſſing, and the Sea Coming in ſooner than they counted, their deſign failed. Beſides there were of the Enemy that oppoſed their coming on the firm Land. Captain *Turlough Obryan* was killed by a looſe ſhot, out of a Caſtle in the *Iſland*. Now it being the latter end of *November* the Snow falling, I retired to *Capper-Quin*. And Commiſſioners being come to lay out Winter Quarters for the Army: I left it and repaired to *Kilkenny*. Thus end-

ed my *Mounſter* expedition, and the laſt that I ſerved under the *Confederate Catholicks*. Whoſe Kindneſs and Confidence in me, I ſhall never forget, but acknowledge it where ever I am.

SECT. VI.

The Peace *of* 46. *Proclaimed.* Lord Lieutenant *comes to* Kilkenny. *That* Peace *oppoſed at* Waterford, Limmerick, *&c. Lord* Caſtlehaven *ſent to the* Nuncio; *but in vain. He adviſes the* Lord Lieutenant *to March back to* Dublin *with all ſpeed: waits on his Excellency all along: and carries the Sword before him through that City. The* Nuncio *Marches with two Armies to Beſiege it; but comes ſhort of his expectation.* Lord Lieutenant *Treats and concludes with the Parliament Commiſſioners.* Caſtlehaven *goes for* France. Lord Lieutenant's *admirable ſteddineſs, and moſt loyal conſtancy. He departs for* England, *& thence a little after to* Paris. Glamorgan's *Peace diſ-*

diſcover'd, but not allowed by Him.
The breach of the 46 Peace *how fatal.*

SInce the Ceſſation there was always a *Treaty* of *Peace* held on with the Marqueſs of *Ormond* Lord Lieutenant, and, after many Obſtructions, at length concluded; ſince called the *Peace of* 46. Which being Proclaimed both at *Dublin* and *Kilkenny*, his Excellency came to this Town, accompanied with many Noble men and others, with twelve hundred Foot, and two hundred Horſe The *Supream Councel* received him with all due reſpect, and ſurrendred their Government to him. But this Sun-ſhine laſted not long. The News was brought, that thoſe of *Limbrick* had rejected the Peace, declaring for the *Popes Nuncio*: and had ſtoned the *King* at *Arms*, going to Proclaim it. *Clonmel* ſhut their Gates on the ſame Score. General *Owen Roe O Neal*, being proud by a late Victory he had gained over the *Scots* in *Ulſter*, declared alſo for the *Popes Nuncio*. *Preſton* General of *Leinſter*, being at *Birrh* in the

Kings County, lookt very cloudily; yet had Correſpondence with my Lord Lieutenant; but withal excuſing his atendance on pretence of ſome Indiſpoſition.

The Popes *Nuncio Joannes Baptiſta Rinuccini* Archbiſhop and Prince of *Fermo*, being at *Waterford* in the head of a great Congregation of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Clergy men Secular and Regular: and having by his Excommunications thus broken us: the Lord Lieutenant by the advice of the *Commiſſioners* of *Truſt*, ſent me to trie if I could perſuade him to let the *Peace* go on. But all I could do was in vain; he declaring his Reſolution to oppoſe it to the utmoſt. For all this my Lord Lieutenant continued his deſign of going into *Mounſter*, and I think to *Limbrick*, and March'd with all his Party. But coming to *Carrick* a houſe of his own, Word was brought him there, that *Mac Thomas* had declared for the *Nuncio*, and was drawn up near *Clonmel* with three or four hundred Horſe. I was ſent to him by his Excellency, as think-

thinking my Intereſt might have gained ſomething on him, becauſe he had ſerved moſt of the Wars under my Command. When I came and delivered him my Meſſage, he anſwered me, that he was engaged with the *Nuncio*, according to his Conſcience, and would not quit him. I acquainted his Excellency with this anſwer, and that I ſaw no hopes of reclaiming this man. Yet my Lord Lieutenant would go on, and took his March towards *Caſhel*; *Mac Thomas* Marching for the moſt part in ſight of us. Coming near the Town, and making halt, his Excellency received Notice, I think, from my Lord *Dillon*, reſiding at *Athlone*, that *O Neal* was Marching againſt him with all the force he could make. Whereupon my Lord was pleaſed to call me to him: & telling me his intelligence askt my opinion what was to be done. I gave it quickly, that he ſhould immediately March back the ſhorteſt way, and endeavour to gain *Laughlin* Bridge. He followed my advice. And, paſſing near

Kilkenny,

Kilkenny, ſent his brother Sir *George Hambleton* and my ſelf, to let the Magiſtrates of that City know what Intelligence he had from all hands. However if they pleaſed, he would come to them, with the Party he had, and venture his Fortune with them. They received the Meſſage with all kindneſs and duty: and anſwered, that if he pleaſed to come to them, they would ſerve him with their Lives; though they did believe, it would be the loſs of him and them together. On our report his Excellency kept on his March for the gaining of *Laughlin*: where there was a Bridge that croſſed the River of the *Barrow*, and a Fort at the end, on the County of *Catherloe* ſide, Commanded by Colonel *Walter Bagnal*. Having gained this point, we loſt no time in our March to *Dublin*. Where, coming near, I think the whole people of the City came forth to meet his Excellency, with as much joy as ever man was received; having for ſeveral days judged him and his Party

loſt.

loſt. Coming near the Subburbs, his Excellency honour'd me with carrying the Sword before him through the City, and into the Caſtle. I can give no reaſon for it (beſides his own goodneſs) other than that, I had been always a promoter of the Peace, and the only of the *Confederate Catholicks*, that came with him, and never left him in theſe his Adventures. The *Nuncio* now thought all his own : committing to ſeveral Priſons ſuch of the late *Supream Council* and others as he called of *Ormonds* Party. And having gotten his Forces together, March'd them in one Army (though they took,for their better conveniency in their March, two different ways) towards *Dublin*, *O Neal* and *Preſton* as Generals Commanding under him. They were noiſed ſo numerous and powerful, that in good earneſt the people, Officers and Souldiers did not know what to make of it, and ſhewed apprehenſion enough. His Excellency perceiving this, as it was too plain, called for me: and we diſcourſed

courſed the whole matter. I took the boldneſs to give my Opinion. Which was, That this Army of the *Nuncio* could no longer ſubſiſt in any place then as they found Proviſion, where they came. That neither of his Generals ever had any Magazines during the War. That they undertook this matter, in Confidence of the plenty they ſhould find in his Quarters. That I thought it was a thing of too great hazard to oppoſe them in the Field; and yet if they were not ſtopped, they would come on, and at leaſt live upon him till they had eaten all. Laſtly, that on conſideration of the whole, I thought it beſt to prevent their coming too near. Which could not be done any other way then by deſtroying the Quarters. His Excellency was of the ſame Opinion: and therefore ſent Orders immediately, to all people within eight Miles of the Town, to bring in whatever they had: giving them three or four days for it. And what was found abroad after the time prefixt, Parties were ordered to burn and deſtroy;

deſtroy; particularly Forrage and Mills: for now all the Harveſt was in. This was all effected, before the *Nuncio* and his Army were come to *Kilcullin-Bridge*. And yet how diſappointed ſoever they were they advanc'd as far as *Leixlip* and *Newcaſtle*: both which places, lying within three Miles diſtance one of an other, and ſix from *Dublin*, they made their Head-quarters: *Preſton* at *Leixlip*, and *Owen O Neal* at *Newcaſtle*: the *Nuncio* with his Council remaining at *Seginſtown*, ſome ſix Miles farther off. But not being able to live long by the Air: for from their own Countries they expected not much: and the continual rains and prodigious ſwelling of the River *Liffy*, hindering that little that was coming to them (for all the Bridges over it were broken) and great jealouſies (even more than the ordinary old ones) ariſing 'twixt the two Generals, and 'twixt the *Nuncio* alſo and *Preſton*: they returned ſeveral ways, in greater hait than they came.

The Quarters being deſtroyed; and

Athlone

Athlone betrayed to the *Nuncio* by *Dillon*, a Fryer; and the Harbour of *Dublin* blockt up by Parliament Men of War: my advice was ask'd by his Excellence in this extremity, with which of his Enemies he ſhould Treat? I anſwer'd, that I was confident he had reſolved that before, there being no queſtion in the caſe. For giving up to the Parliament, when the King ſhould have *England* he would have *Ireland* with it; but to the *Nuncio* and his Party, it might prove far other ways, and the two Kingdoms remain ſeparate.

What weight this diſcourſe had, I know not. But immediately my Lord Lieutenant engaged himſelf in a Treaty with the Parliament.

During which Treaty, his Excellency was forced to March into the County of *Weſtmeath*, and other parts to feed his people. Where we were not much at our eaſe. For by *Owen O Neal* we were kept in continual Alarme.

Now all being agreed for the delivery of the places under his Command to

the

the Parliament, I took my leave of his Excellency resolving to go for *France*: though with much grief of heart to leave this Noble Lord, who had shewn so much Loyalty, Justness and steddiness in his proceedings during these Transactions; even from the meeting at *Seginstown*, to the Conclusion of the Peace, made with the *Confederates*; and now again to the giving up of his Government to the *Parliament*. For which I doubt not but he shall remain in Story, as he deserves, a Fixed-star, by the light of which others may walk in his steps.

But alass! whilst this Noble Lord was acting above board with the *Confederates*, there was another Game playing under him and in the dark between the Earl of *Glamorgan*, and those of the *Nuncio's* party. This Earl I know did pretend large Commissions from the King. But of his Treating a Peace, it was so secret that I never knew it (though I was at that time of the *Supream Council*) till that after the

Arch-

Archbiſhop of *Tuam* was killed, the Peace made with him was known at *Dublin*; it being found in the Archbiſhops Pocket; and the benefit of it earneſtly pretended by the *Nuntio* and his Party, but as reſolutely refuſed and rejected by my Lord Lieutenant. This Peace goes by the name of *Glamorgans Peace*. However the *Nuntio* having this colour, improves it: and by his Emiſſaries of the Clergy inſinuates to the People, his threats of excommunicating thoſe that ſhould accept of *Ormonds* Peace, as they called it. This broke and divided the Catholicks extremely. Which the *Nuncio* perceiving, followed it with a Thundring Excommunication to that effect.

Now let the failour of this Peace lie at whoſe door it will, 'tis no raſhneſs to ſay, That Story mentions not any one thing that had ſo fatal a conſequence. For if this Peace had gone on, the King had preſently been ſupplyed with great forces from *Ireland*, both of *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*: and ſo probably might

might have been prevented, the enſuing mischiefs that ſhortly after happen'd both to him and all his Loyal Subjects throughout his Dominions.

But the *Iriſh* had a more particular ill Fate than the reſt by this breach of Faith. For albeit they, diſcovering their Error, did, not long after, mightily endeavour to make amends the beſt they could by a ſecond and very ſolemn Agreement; which their Commiſſioners ſigned, and themſelves confirmed and Sealed it with the blood of more than twenty Thouſand of their beſt men, who loſt their lives to maintain it; refuſing in the mean while all offers of Peace, and that even to the very laſt, from the Parliament: yet ſince his Majeſties happy Reſtauration, their Eſtates are, by the *Acts of Settlement*, given away; ſome very few excepted. As if *all the Confederate Catholicks* of *Ireland* had been as guilty as thoſe who begun the *Rebellion* of the *North*: or as thoſe that were the *only Authors* of breaking the *Peace* of 46.

SECT. VII.

Private Treaties 'twixt Inchiquin *and* Taaf. *Agents ſent to* Paris *from the Confederates.* Ormond *return'd, and the* Peace *of* 48. *concluded. By it* Caſtlehaven *made General of the Horſe. With* 5000 *Foot and a* 1000 *Horſe he regains* Mary-Borough, Athy, *and all* Leix *from* Owen O Neals *people. Lord Lieutenant Marches to* Dublin. *Some difference happen'd in point of Command, makes* Caſtlehaven withdraw. *The uproar at* Kilkenny *ſuppreſs'd by him.*

THE Marqueſs of *Ormond*, having perform'd Agreements with the *Parliament*, left *Ireland*: and, after ſome time ſpent in *England*, went to *France*. At St. *Germains* he attended the *Queen*, and *Prince of Wales*. It was not long before my Lord of *Inchiquin*, having ſome diſcontent given him

him by the *Parliament*, entred into ſecret Treaties with the Lord *Taaf*, (ſince made Earl of *Carlingford*) and other General or Principal Leaders amongſt the *Iriſh*: who, ſince the rejection of the *Peace*, having loſt two great Battels, the one at *Dungan's-Hill*, (alias *Linch's Knock*) under General *Preſton*, the other at *Knock na Noſs* under my Lord *Taaf* (albeit this Nobleman had never been either of *Owen O Neal's* Party, or the *Nuncio's*; and then had fought againſt the *Parliament*) conſidering alſo they had loſt in both thoſe Battels eight Thouſand men at leaſt, kill'd down right, beſides Priſoners: and looking on theſe great loſſes of their ſide, as heavy judgments of Heaven to puniſh the late unparallel'd breach of Publick Faith; begun to be as weary of the *Nuncio*, as my Lord of *Inchiquin* was of the *Parliament*. Wherefore they concluded to contrive the Marqueſs of *Ormond's* return: and, when he was come, to declare for the King. To this end Agents are ſent

from the Confederates to *France*, *viz.* the Marqueſs of *Antrim*, the Lord Viſcount *Muskry*, and *Jeffrey Brown* Eſq; Upon their offers, the *Queen* and *Prince* of *Wales* diſpatch'd my Lord Lieutenant to *Ireland*. Accordingly he ſhipt at *Haver-de-Grace* in a States Man of War, and Landed at *Cork*: my ſelf and many others attending him. My Lord of *Inchiquin* was then with the Army in the Field, but ſoon came to him; I went before to *Kilkenny*. Where without delay, but not before his Excellency alſo was come thither, a new *Treaty* was ſet on Foot, between him and the *Iriſh*; an *Aſſembly* of them ſitting at that time in the Town. After many diſputes and reaſonings (which is not my buſineſs to relate) a *Peace* was concluded, called ſince the *Peace* of *Forty eight*. What Agreement there was between my Lord Lieutenant and my Lord of *Inchiquin* I know not. But am ſure, that my Lord of *Inchiquin* demanded of my Lord Lieutenant all *Mounſter*, for the recruiting and ſtrengthening his

his Army: and had it. By which the *Iriſh* ſtanding Regiments of that Province came to little or nothing.

But to introduce my own Story, I am to tell you, That in the *Peace* of *Forty ſix* there was an Article by which it was left to the Confederate Catholicks to name certain perſons, for General Officers, to whom my Lord Lieutenant was to give Commiſſions. Now I having ſerved them long, as has been ſeen by the Story; and the ſame Article being confirmed in this *Peace:* they named me, as they had done in the former, to be General of the Horſe of the Kingdom of *Ireland.* Which his Excellency approved, and accordingly gave me a Commiſſion, and ſoon after ſent me into the *Queens County* with five Thouſand Foot, a Thouſand Horſe and ſome Cannon to reduce the Fort of *Leaſe*, (otherwiſe called *Mary-Borough*) *Athy* and other Gariſons, poſſeſt by *O Neals* people. Theſe Troops, for the moſt part, were Commanded by Sir *Tho. Armſtrong*, Colonel *Treſwel*,

and other *Engliſh* Officers: men that had always followed my Lord Lieutenants fortune: and had been recruited and reinforced out of their Winter-Quarters, as *Kilkenny* and ſome Counties about.

With them having well executed my Order, without any conſiderable reſiſtance, I Marched to *Laughlin-Bridge*, and Encamped, giving an account to his Excellency what had paſs'd: and that I would there expect his farther Orders. But 'twas not many days, before my Lord Lieutenant, the Lord of *Inchiquin*, Lieutenant General of the Army, the Lord *Taaf* Maſter of the Ordnance, *Mr. Daniel O Neal* Governour of his Excellencies Guards of Horſe, with other Generals, and the whole Army of my Lord *Inchiquin*, and ſome *Iriſh* Regiments joyned us. So with a goodly Train of Artillery, we paſſed the River *Barrow*, and that night Encamped in the County of *Catherloe*. Where ſomething paſs'd in point of Command, that gave me ground to judge

judge my ſelf wronged. Beſides I was haraſſed by my Marches and Labours in the *Queens County*. In conſideration of which, his Excellency, at my requeſt, gave me leave to retire, for the refreſhing my ſelf: and his Excellency Marched on and inveſted *Dublin*.

But, being returned to *Kilkenny*, I found the City in an uprore. The occaſion, and iſſue of it, take as followeth. One Father *Caron*, at that time Commiſſary General of the Recollects all over *Ireland*, being in *Kilkenny*, to reform the abuſes of ſome of his Order there, was by the *Commiſſioners of Truſt* deſired to remove one *Brenan*, and ſix or ſeven more, out of the Monaſtery of that Town, and ſend them elſewhere to be kept under Diſcipline. The reaſon of this deſire was, That thoſe men, were notoriouſly known to be ſtill moſt violent ſticklers for the ways of the *Nuncio*: and that they made it their buſineſs to incenſe the people anew againſt the Peace; alienate them from the Government; and draw them wholly to *Owen*

O Neal, who yet ſtood out againſt all agreement with the King.

To ſatisfie ſo juſt a demand of the Commiſſioners, Father *Caron* appoints a day for *Brenan* and his Aſſociates to depart *Kilkenny*, and go to the ſeveral other Convents, which he had appointed for them. And becauſe he found by their Anſwers, they were reſolv'd not to obey him: the *Commiſſioners* of *Truſt*, upon notice thereof, more effectually reſolve to force their obedience to his Commands, by ſending them away conducted by Guards, but yet Guards of Roman Catholick Souldiers, to the Convents appointed them by him, who was their undoubted Spiritual Superior.

Of this reſolution of the *Commiſſioners* of *Truſt*, *Brenan* and his refractory brethren having timely notice: and ſeeing very well there was no fence for them againſt this flail, but by that of ſome extraordinary means: and then reflecting on their intereſt, as Natives in the Town; for three or four of them were

were ſo, as one, by name *Rooth*, was Brother to the Mayor: beſides, confiding mightily in the common people, whom they had already poſſeſs'd with many lies: but above all perſuading themſelves, that no Catholick durſt attempt to violate the Sanctity of their Habit, or priviledge of their profeſſion, by laying violent hands upon them; and Proteſtants there were none in Town at that time; which they knew very well: what do they conclude at laſt? even very Religiouſly to raiſe a moſt dangerous Tumult: and that by the moſt damnable malicious lye that could be forged.

When the day appointed was come, they by themſelves and their Emiſſaries, inform the heads of the rabble abroad, and throughly poſſeſs them, That the Commiſſary and Father *Peter Walſh*, with ſome five or ſix more of their Company, men that had always ſtood up for the Kings Government, *had privately introduced a number of the Baron of* Inchiquins *Proteſtant* Iriſh *Souldiers*

diers into their Convent, and there clothed, in the Habit of that Order, all of them like Friers; of purpose to seise at night those few Religious men that remain'd unalterable in their obedience to the Apostolick See: and for that cause, and unknown to any, at such a time of darkness and silence, either to drown them in the River Neoir *that runs by their Garden; or wafting them over it by Boat, to lead them to a more cruel Death elsewhere, in some unknown place.*

This lie enflam'd so the meaner sort in the Town and Suburbs (pretty well, before it, prepar'd by many other inventions) that upon a suddain vast numbers of them force their way into the Monastery, cursing & exclaiming against those that would turn away their Friends. And then, arming themselves with what ever came next to hand; and with all fury imaginable attacking a little Castle, whereinto the Commissary with his company had withdrawn, they force this too. Nor could Lieutenant General *Bellew* and Captain *Dillon*

Dillon hold out long. These two Gentlemen, so soon as they saw the door of the Castle flying open, rush'd in among the first, and with their Swords drawn plac'd themselves on the narrow stairs that lead up to the Garret; whether the Commissary and his Associates were now gotten. But the odds was too great, and their two Swords were too short and weak, against so many more spits and poles. So they also being beat from their Post; the Commissary, and Fathers with him had no retreat, but to the Battlement, through the Garret window. The shutter of this window was pretty thick and of Oak: and for that reason fastened by them, as well as they could, in the outside towards themselves. Which they had scarce done, when the Assailants, gotten up to the Garret, with stones and rafters pelt at this last defence.

And now the Fathers, utterly despairing of life, lay themselves on their knees, praying to God, and shrieving one an other. Onely Father *Walsh* put himself

ſelf in another poſture. Which was, Standing at a corner of the Battlement, and Speaking and Preaching thence as from a Pulpit to the people: not only diſcovering their great Error, and repreſenting the horrour of what was a doing; but upbraiding them alſo with the greateſt ingratitude imaginable towards himſelf. And then asking them (for it began to be dusky) did not they know him, that lived ſo many years among them? Or were they ignorant, it was he that was chiefly ſought for to be murdered? And yet did not they remember, it was he alone that with the hazard of his own life, but two years before, did ſave them all? Their Mayor and Aldermen from being hang'd at their Gates by *Owen Roe O Neal*? Their whole City from being Sack'd by his then victorious exaſperated Army? And their Caſtle from either receiving in an *Ulſter* Garriſon; or being ſeiz'd upon a few days after, by the *Nuncio* himſelf in perſon?

To this utmoſt extremity were theſe Be-

Beſieged Fathers brought, only one ſingle Window leaf, a board that was not above an inch thick, and it a forcing too, parting them and Death: when I had the good Fortune to reſcue them. For, juſt in that nick of time, I came to Town, accompanied with two or three Trumpets, about a dozen Horſe, with five or ſix Gentlemen (of which Sir *George Hamilton* was one) and ſome Footmen. And, being inform'd of the matter, I Gallop'd preſently with thoſe of my Company to the place; had a charge ſounded; and fell in among the Rable, firing of Piſtols, and crying *Kill, kill, kill.* The multitude hearing the Trumpets, and ſeeing the fire (for 'twas now grown dusky) and knowing my voice, found themſelves ſurpriz'd, and thought themſelves betray'd; as knowing the Army to be far off in their March to *Dublin*; and therefore immediately routed and run away; though they had brought thoſe in the Caſtle ſo low; that (to ſpeak within compaſs) they could not hold out half a quarter of

an

an hour. These Fathers being thus relieved, after four hours defence; I inquired who Governed this Siege: and found it to be seven or eight Fryers in a house by, the chiefest of them the forementioned *Brenan*, and *Rooth*. I call'd for them down. And whilst I was speaking, came to my assistance the Town Major, one *Archer*, with a hundred Musquetiers, and presently followed the Mayor and Aldermen. Whom after I had ratled soundly for suffering this disorder, I Commanded to lay hold of these Friers and carry them Prisoners to the Castle. At which they staggering, and this *Brenan* a sturdy Frier, saying he would fain see what man durst, Touch his Habit: I laying hold on him said, Lies the Enchantment there? And after this the Mayor, Town Major, and all the rest carried them away Prisoners to the Castle, as I had appointed.

SECT.

SECT. VIII.

He returns to the Army. Inchiquin *Marches to* Mounſter *with* 1100 *Horſe from the Siege of* Dublin. *That Siege rais'd.* Cromwel *landed at* Dublin, *takes* Drogheda *by Storm. The Lord Lieutenant forms a good Army in the County of* Kilkenny. Inchiquin *worſted at* Glaſcarrig. Caſtlehaven *relieves* Wexford: *which after is betray'd by* Stafford. Caſtlehaven *relieves* Duncannon: *and the Siege of it raiſed.* Cromwel *takes* Roſs, *and thence Marches to the County of* Cork, *where all the Towns open to him.* Tickle's *Treacherous undertaking.* Caſtlehaven *made Commander in Chief of* Leinſter. *He Storms* Athy. Gowran *betray'd to* Cromwel. *The Plague raging at* Kilkenny, Cromwel *Beſieges and takes it by compoſition.* Caſtlehaven's *Orders not obeyed; he goes to my Lord Lieutenant in the County of* Clare. Now

NOw after a while that I had diverted my ſelf a Hunting, I repaired to *Limbrick:* and there lay; cauſing by fair and foul means all people both in that City and County, to bring in what remained, due to the King of their Aplotments. Having got ten Thouſand pound together, I delivered it to Sir *George Hambleton* Treaſurer of the Army. My Lord Lieutenant now wrote to the *Commiſſioners of Truſt* ſitting at *Kilkenny* to let me know, that I ſhould come to the Army, and that all difficulties concerning Command ſhould be removed to my Satisfaction. I obeyed, and Sir *George* and my ſelf with our ten Thouſand pound went to the Army; which we found in their March, removing from the *Phenix* ſide of *Dublin* to *Rath Mines*, where they Encamped.

But my Lord of *Inchiquin*, ſoon after acquainted his Excellency with ſome Letters he had received from his Officers in *Mounſter*, that *Cromwel* was to land

land there. Which if ſo, all his Towns would revolt, if not prevented by his ſpeedy repair thither, with ſome or all his Army. In Order to this, my Lord of *Inchiquin* deſired his Excellency's Conſent that he might March away with eleven hundred Horſe: and his Excellency imparted all to me. At which I was infinitely ſurprized, alleadging the whole Army too weak for the work in hand. I remember my Lord Lieutenants Anſwer. But 'tis not my buſineſs to ſpeak more of this Subject, having been always kept a ſtranger to the undertaking of this Siege. 'Tis enough for me to tell you here, that my Lord of *Inchiquin* with eleven hundred Horſe March'd away: and you may imagine many more. Soon after this, happen'd the Defeat before *Dublin*.

And, not long after, that *Cromwell* with his Army Landed there; March'd to *Tredath*; and took it with all the Towns in thoſe parts. My Lord Lieutenant, not being able to ſtand before him, retired with what Troops he had

to the County of *Kilkenny*. Where my Lord of *Inchiquin* came to him, and in a ſhort time they formed a good Army. For, beſides my Lord of *Inchiquins* Forces, many *Ulſter* Regiments of Foot joyned them: *Owen O Neal* having by this time, though too late for himſelf and the King's ſervice, come in upon *Articles*, which he ſign'd upon his Deathbed, after he had been rejected by the Parliament.

Cromwel being retired to *Dublin* refreſh'd his Army; fitted himſelf for a new undertaking; and took his March by the Sea ſide through the County of *Wicklowe* to Beſiege *Wexford*. My Lord of *Inchiquin* was ſent to oppoſe him. They met on the Strand in the County of *Wexford* towards *Glaſcarrig*: fought; and my Lord was Worſted.

My Lord Lieutenant being with his Army come to *Roſs*, and fearing a want of men within *Wexford*; I, knowing the Town and Country about it, offer'd to attempt the Relief. My Lord accepted my good Will, and ordered me

as

as many Regiments of *Ulster* Foot, as made fifteen hundred men. The Colonels were my Lord of *Eveah*, and one *Mac Coffre*, also I think another, and appointed two hundred Horse to escort us. I took a great compass and came before day to the Ferry, near Sir *Thomas Esmond's* house called *Ballin-Treman*, who as I remembred was with me. Then leaving the Horse for my return, I Passed that Arm of the Sea in Boats: and having delivered the Foot to Sir *Edmund Butler* the Governor; I took the same way homewards as I came.

The Town thus Manned was Impregnable, as to *Cromwel* by force. Yet he took it by the advantage of a Castle that was betray'd unto him by the Governour, one *James Stafford*. This Castle, was strong, and stood about two or three hundred Paces from the Wall. The Communication with the Town could not be Cut. So that the Danger was least there, if Treachery had not been in the Case. But the

Castle being betray'd, it Mastered all that part of the Wall. So *Cromwel's* Forcers entred, and made almost as great a Slaughter as at *Drogheda*.

My Lord Lieutenant then with his Army, retired over the River of *Ross*, and encamped on the County of *Kilkenny* side. From whence his Excellency sent me into the County of *Waterford* to *Passage*, over against *Bally-hack*, to look after the relieving of *Duncannon*, Besieged by some of *Cromwels* people; I think *Ireton* Commanded. And for all there were Parliament Ships before it, I ventured one morning with a Boat, and got into the place, to the Governour a brave Gentleman, one Colonel *Wogane*, whom my Lord sometime before had sent to Command: and with him, besides the *Irish* Garison, about a hundred *English* Officers, who had served the King in the Wars of *England*. He from the highest part of the Rampart, shewed me how the Enemy lay. After I had well considered all, I offered to send him that night by

Sea,

Sea, eighty Horſe Sadled and with Piſtols, if he would mount them with ſo many of his *Engliſh* Officers, and before day, with them and ſome Foot, make a ſharp Sally. He lik'd it extremely, but doubted my part, for putting in the Horſe, it being about three miles by Sea. I bad him leave that to me.

Having thus concluded, I took my Boat, returned, and ſet my ſelf to my Buſineſs. The Tide ſerving at the beginning of the night, and having provided Boats, I Commanded eighty choice Horſe to come to the Sea ſide. Where, making the Horſemen alight, I cauſed the Horſes to be Boated, ſending ſome to hold them. They entred the Place, and all was executed as deſigned, great Slaughter made, and the Cannons ſeiſed. For the Confuſion amongſt the Enemy was great, by reaſon that they judged it, the falling in of an Army from abroad, hearing and ſeeing horſes, and knowing none to be in the Fort. Our people retiring before

day, the Enemy raised the Siege in the morning, and Marched off.

His Excellency shortly after this, made me Governour of *Waterford*: whither I went, with a Thousand men. But the Town would not admit them entrance. On which I, after several days dispute, being in despair, Marched away in the night.

All this while the Armies were not idle. For *Cromwel*, after the rendition of *Wexford*, came to *Ross*: making a breach, took it: passed the River there: Marched through the County of *Kilkenny* to *Carick*: and passing the River of the *Shower* into the County of *Waterford*, March'd on into the County of *Cork*; where all my Lord of *Inchiquins* Towns opend their Gates to him.

The particular actings between the Armies, I must leave to those that know better; for I was seldom with them, but imployed up and down, as you see. The persons principally intrusted by my Lord Lieutenant for the Government of the Army, were my Lord of *Inchi-*

quin

quin and my Lord *Taaf*, till the Spring following.

Then *Cromwel* began to move again, having drawn his Forces together: and had gained one Captain *Tickle* to ſecure him a Gate or two of *Kilkenny*, when he ſhould think fit. The Plague ſtrangely raged now in this City: as it had done for a long time in all our Towns. And *Cromwel*, having left his Gariſons in the County of *Cork*, in good Order, was advanced into the County of *Tipperary*, in his way to the Siege of *Kilkenny*. I, having nothing to do, went one morning early a Fox-Hunting, as I was accuſtomed all the Winter. My Lord Lieutenant joyning me in my way, ſaid, he would ſee what we did. Being a little farther out of Town, he began to tell me how he had diſcovered this Treachery of *Tickle*; *Cromwels* approach; and his deſign to Beſiege this place. After ſome diſcourſe it was not long, before my Lord came to the point, and told me that it was reſolved in Council that

he ſhould immediately repair into the County of *Clare*, & from thence and the adjacent Countries endeavour the raiſing an Army to attend the Motions of *Cromwel*: and that, in his abſence, he ſhould appoint me Commander in chief of the Province of *Leinſter*.

Any man may judge how I was pleaſed, with this honour. But my obedience, though I thought my ſelf loſt by it, obliged me to a Submiſſion. So I caſt my ſelf at my Lords Feet to diſpoſe of me as he pleaſed. The Commiſſion with all neceſſary Orders diſpatched, his Excellency with his Generals and *Commiſſioners of Truſt* left *Kilkenny*, and went ſtraight to the County of *Clare*.

I loſt no time, and beſtirr'd my ſelf, making Major *James Walſh* Governour of the Caſtle, and Sir *Walter Butler* of the City. I did all I could to furniſh it with Men, Proviſion, and Ammunition of all ſorts: then March'd out my ſelf leaving the Gariſons ſtrong, about

about two hundred Horſe and a Thouſand Foot.

Cromwel now having left *Caſhel*, and being on his March to *Callen*, I went to *Catherlow*, hoping to have met there ſuch Troops from all parts of the Province as I had ordered. But thoſe Quartered in the lower Divident under the Command of the Lord *Dillon*, intirely failed, being about the number of two Thouſand five hundred Foot, and ſix or ſeven hundred Horſe: and in their ſtead I received a Letter from his Lordſhip, as if he were ſending them in great haſt. But they never came, though I repeated often my Orders.

Theſe, and other Troops not appearing, I knew not well what to do. For I had only with me 800 Foot of the Province, and an *Ulſter* Regiment of twelve hundred more. Sir *Thomas Armſtrong* Commiſſary General of the Horſe, a brave Commander, was my chief Counſellor. His Regiment, with my Lord Lieutenants Commanded by Colonel *Treſwel*, and ſome other Troops,

Troops, made up near a Thouſand Horſe.

At this time an *Iriſh* man was brought unto me, taken by ſome of my Guards; who, being to be examined, deſired to ſpeak with me alone. Which being granted; he produced a piece of yellow Wax, in form almoſt round; which he was to ſwallow on occaſion. Within it there was Note from *Huſon* to *Cromwel*, intimating that he with his Forces were on their March from *Dublin* towards him; but deſired his Orders in reſpect that I lay in his way. Having Copied the Note, I roul'd it in the Wax, as I had it. And the fellow having aſſured me of his return with *Cromwels* anſwer I truſted him, & ſuffer'd him to go on his way. The ſecond or third day he came to me, and delivered me another piece of Wax, as the former, with *Cromwel's* Order to *Huſon* incloſed; which I kept. However *Huſon* held on his March, and paſs'd the River *Barow* eight or ten Miles below me.

Now

Now though I was not of ſtrength to meddle with his Army, I made ſome advantage of my Intelligence, and Marched to *Athy* a Town with a Bridge eight Miles above on the ſame River; where *Huſon* had a Magazine, with ſeven hundred men in Gariſon: and, coming before it about an hour before Sun-ſet, I took it by Storm, with all the Gariſon Priſoners at diſcretion. But the place not being tenable, I ſlighted it: and not knowing what to do with my Priſoners, I made a Preſent of them to *Cromwel*; deſiring him by Letter, that he would do the like with me, as any of mine ſhould fall into his power.

But he little valued my Civility. For in a very few days after he Beſieged *Gowran*, where Colonel *Hammond* Commanded: and the Souldiers Mutining and giving up the place with their Officers, he cauſed this Gouernor *Hamond* and ſome other *Engliſh* Officers to be ſhot to Death. Which being done, and all other places in the County of

Kil-

Kilkenny cleared by him, he falls to work and Besieges *Kilkenny* it self. Whereupon I took my March to *Baliraget* within 7 Miles of him. But finding my self too much exposed there, I Marched into *Ossory*, and made my head Quarter at *Castletown*, a place belonging to Mr. *Fitz Patrick*. Whence I sent again to the Lord *Dillon* to come unto me with all the Force he had. He gave me still fair promises (as before) but never came. I then with the advice of Sir *Thomas Armstrong* and Colonel *Treswel*, resolv'd with my Party to enter *Kilkenny*. Which was easie to be done; the side where the River runs being open, but when I came to our Rendevous, my *Ulster* Regiment appeared not, but were Marched away to their own Country; alleadging they came to Fight against men, but not against God. Their meaning was because of the Plague.

This Design being thus broken, and a great breach made in the Wall near the Castle, which had been assaulted

two

two or three times, and no hopes ever to be Succoured; I ſent Orders to the Governors to make Conditions when they thought fit, and both to joyn at the ſame time, though the Caſtle might hold out two or three days longer than the Town.

Cromwel being thus Maſter of *Kilkenny*, I retired into the Kings County. Where, underſtanding that *Carloe* Caſtle was Beſieg'd, I appointed a Rendevous; intending to attempt the Succour. But coming to the place, I found not half my Foot. The reſt were March'd into *Mounſter*, I know not by what order.

Now finding my ſelf thus uſed: and reflecting on ſeveral other hardſhips put upon me ſince the *Peace of* 48 in deſpair of ſucceſs, I left *Leinſter*, and went to my Lord Lieutenant in the County of *Clare*. Where I rendred him an account, how I had been failed, to the end he might do as he thought fit.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Made Commander in Chief of Mounſter, *and* Limbrick *receiving him,* Ireton *raiſes his Siege that night. Tranſports* 2000 *men by Boats into* Kerry. *Perſuades* Clanrickard *to accept of the Government. Sends Orders to the ſeveral Provinces; which are not obeyed. Paſſes with* 1000 *Horſe through* Limbrick *to the* SilverMines: *and how this deſign failed. Hinders the General Aſſembly from Agreeing with the Parliament. Relieves* Tecrochan; *and* Fox *hang'd.* Ireton *ſitting down again before* Limmerick; *he defends the Paſs at* Killaloe. *Sent for to* Galway, *hinders the agreement with the Duke of* Lorrain. Return'd *to* Killaloe *receives Letters from* Ireton, *and anſwers them; but is betray'd at* Bryan's Bridge *by Captain* Kelly, *and at* Killaloe *by Colonel* Fennel. Athlone *given up, and* Galway *beſieged,*

ſieged, he is ſent from Clanrickard *to the King. The Kings Anſwer, and Orders to* Clanrickard. *On which* Caſtlehaven *takes Service under the Prince of* Conde. *Reflections.*

I Had not been long there attending his Excellency, before *Ireton* ſate down before *Limbrick*, on the County of *Limbrick* ſide, leaving *Tomond's* ſide open. His Excellency repaired thither: and, being come near the end of the Bridge, ſent to the Mayor, to let him know that he was there, with ſome Troops, and ready to enter with them for the defence of the place. The Mayor having conſulted his Brethren, made excuſe as if they had no need of relief. Several Meſſages paſs to and fro, till at length his Excellency loſing all patience, declared unto them that if they would not receive and obey him, he would leave the Kingdom. All would not do. And ſo, turning aſide, he called me to him, and told me that he was in good earneſt, and would be gone: but Commanded

manded me to ſtay, and keep up a Buſſel as long as I could; it being the Kings Service. I was very unwilling to remain behind, ſeeing he took with him my Lord of *Inchiquin*, my Lord *Taaf*, Colonel *Daniel O Neal*, and other his friends. But theſound of the Kings Service ſo Charmed me, that I abandon'd my own Judgment, and ſubmitted to what his Excellency ſhould Order. He then gave me a Commiſſion to be Commander in chief of the Province of *Mounſter*, and the County of *Clare*; having before that of *Leinſter*. Thus qualified, together with my being General of the Horſe of the Kingdom, his Excellency gave me Poſſeſſion of his Troops there ſtanding in their Arms, together with his Life-Guard to ſerve me as they had done him; and, as I counted, they were in all about two Thouſand Foot, and a Thouſand Horſe. His Excellency for my better encouragement aſſured me, that he would leave a Commiſſion for my Lord of *Clanrickard*, to be Lord Deputy.

Now

Now my Lord being gone, and not ſuffering me to accompany him more than a Mile, I went into the Town addreſſing to the Mayor and Aldermen. I told them how I was left, and ask'd them whether they were pleaſed with it, and would obey me? They took no long time to conſult, but ſubmitted themſelves to my pleaſure. On which I immediately viſited their Walls: and at the ſame time took a view of the Enemy: whom I judged to be very looſe and expoſed, if vigorouſly aſſaulted. On which, I reſolved, in the firſt of the night, to draw my Troops into the Town, and a little before day to make a ſharp Sally. On what Intelligence, I know not, but *Ireton* raiſed his Siege, and marched off in the night. This done, I returned my Troops to their Quarters and remained my ſelf in the Town, till I had ſent my Orders to all Officers, commanding in the ſeveral Provinces, and particularly to my Lord of *Muskry* then in *Kerry*, ordering him to make him-

ſelf ſo ſtrong as he could, and that I would ſoon be with him to encreaſe his Forces. Which I performed, paſſing the *Shanon* about twelve miles below *Limbrick*, with two thouſand men. And though the River was full of Parliament Ships and two miles over, yet I had not the leaſt loſs. 'Tis true I took the night, and landing in *Kerry* near *Drombeg*, I marcht till I came to my Lord of *Muskry* at *Tralie*. Having acquainted him with what had paſt, and ordered what I would have done, particularly in raiſing of Forces, I left my men with him, and returned to *Iniſs*, my Reſidence in the County of *Clare*.

Where being come, and a little refreſh'd, I went to *Portumne* to viſit the Marqueſs of *Clanrickard*, and came there before Dinner. He bad me very Welcome. After Dinner, I deſired to retire my ſelf for an hour or two. He brought me to my Chamber, and asked, Whether it would not be troubleſome that he took a Pipe of To-

bacco

bacco by me; I ſaid, no, but the contrary; yet, ſhewed my ſelf melancholy. He did what he could to divert it: but I pretended withal not to be very well, and ſpake to a Servant of his that ſtood at the Door, to bring me a Glaſs of Sack: My Lord was much pleaſed with that, and called for a Bottle.

Now, my Point was to get him to take the Government; by accepting the Commiſſion left by my Lord Lieutenant: yet I ſpeak nothing of it, hoping he would begin; which he did. The paſſages on this ſubject are too long to relate here. But before we parted, I got him to ſend to the *Commiſſioners of Truſt*, (theſe were men named by the Confederates, and agreed to by my Lord of *Ormond* to ſee the performance of the Articles of Peace) then ſitting at *Loghreah*, requiring them to ſend him his Commiſſion: for he would take upon him the Government. And to loſe no time, I gave him the beſt account I

could of the Forces in the Kingdom, as well Friends as Foes. For he during the War had been no more than a Spectator, beloved and reſpected of all, and might have ſo continued, had not his great Loyalty drawn him to take up this Commiſſion: which was little leſs than to Sacrifice himſelf and his, only to give the King time to trie his fortune with *Cromwell:* their Armies being near *Sterling* in *Scotland*, Encamped near together, as the Kings Letters to us imported, brought by *Deane King*, an Expreſs newly come. We agreed at this meeting, that his Lordſhip ſhould immediately raiſe a thouſand Horſe as an addition to the Standing Forces of *Conaught*, and that I ſhould march with my thouſand Horſe, out of the County of *Clare* to the *Silver Mines* in the County of *Tipperary*, paſſing through *Limbrick* in the night, and be at ſuch a day and hour at the Rendevous, and there I ſhould meet fifteen hundred Foot, that he would ſend with a good Officer. His

Part

Part was little more than croſſing the *Shanon* at his door, and marching four or five miles; no Enemy in thoſe Parts.

I complied punctually with my Order, and the Mayor of *Limbrick*, as I marched through the City, on demand gave me a hundred Foot. The Alarm of my March was ſoon given to Sir *Hardreſs Waller*, or my Lord *Brochil*, or both, lying near *Kilmallock* with great Forces. They purſued me; and I coming to our appointed Rendevous, no news there was of the fifteen hundred Foot. Having loſt this Anchor, I was put to my Wits ends. But not having much time to think, the Enemy coming on, I reſolved to thruſt into the next Faſtneſs, and ſave my ſelf as well as I could. But there was a Caſtle of the *O-Machers* that ſtood in the way, poſſeſt by the Enemy. And there being no other paſſage, I ſent to the adjacent Villages, and got together Crows of Iron, Pickaxes, and what elſe that could be found neceſſary; and making my Horſe-men to alight,

I fell a Storming the Caſtle. Which with the Aſſiſtance of the *Limbrick* Foot, in three or four hours time was yielded. I left my hundred men in this place to ſecure the Paſs. Now being pretty ſafe, I lodg'd that night at my eaſe, where Collonel *Fitz Patrick* came to me, who had for ſome time kept in thoſe Faſtneſſes with a good Party of Foot and ſome Horſe. My men being well refreſhed, I took the plain Countrey near *Burras*; and after entring the Woods at the foot of the Mountain *Sleau Bleauma*, I met Sir *Walter Dungan* then Commiſſary General of the Horſe, as was Ordered. He brought with him only three hundred Horſe; but I finding my ſelf ſtill purſued with Horſe and Foot, beſides what were gathering round on all ſides, I took leave of Sir *Walter*, ordering him to return from whence he came, and to ſtop all Forces that I had ſent for, as well from *Ulſter* as *Leinſter*. So I with my thouſand Horſe marched into *Conaught*, paſſing by the Bridge of

of *Athlone*. Being there, I poſted to *Loghreah*, where my Lord *Deputy* was, with a *General Aſſembly* ſitting in his Houſe. I, coming into his Chamber, found with him about a dozen principal men of the *Aſſembly* deputed to him; ſetting forth the deſperate Eſtate of the Nation, with the impoſſibility much farther to hold out. Beſides, that there were now come to the Town, Mr. *John Grace*, and Mr. *John Bryan* Commiſſioners from the *Parliament*, or their Commander in Chief, offering greater Conditions than was reaſonably to be expected, as the caſe ſtood. Whilſt this Addreſs was making, my Lord was glad to ſee me come in, and ordered them to repeat what they had ſaid. I ſeemed much ſcandalized at the ill timing of their Propoſals: and therefore preſently declared my diſlike to it. Then by my Lords permiſſion, weary and dirty, as I was, I went down into the Aſſembly, as a Peer being a Member, and expreſt my deteſtation of what they had

in hand: demonſtrating, that if thoſe fifteen hundred men, commanded by one Collonel *Burk* had not failed, I had probably now been Maſter of the Field: beſides, that the noiſe of a Treaty might deſtroy all what could be hoped for of good from the Kings Endeavours againſt *Cromwel*; that His Majeſty, as his own Letters ſpoke, both to my Lord Deputy and my ſelf, made no doubt, if he could gain fourty eight hours march before *Cromwel* towards *England*, his buſineſs was done, becauſe all were ready there to joyn in aſſiſting him. And, that he therefore, conjured us not to hearken to any *Treaty* with the Enemy. Then I ſet forth the ſtate of the Forces of the Kingdom on all ſides, and concluded very ſeverely againſt the two *Parliament Commiſſioners*. So that they haſtily packt out of Town, and the Aſſembly let the matter fall.

Reynolds now beſieged *Tecrohan* in *Meath*; and my Lord Deputy came to *Tyrrels Pace* about twelve miles from it,

it, with two thouſand Foot and ſeven hundred Horſe. A Councel of War being held, I propoſed, that our Horſe ſhould alarm the Enemy, whilſt the Foot attempted to ſuccour the Place, taking their March through the Bogs. 'Twas alledged by all impoſſible to be done. For coming near the place, there were two necks of Land that did almoſt meet: and that between them there was a great Way or *Tougher*, with a large Ditch of Water on each ſide, which muſt be croſſed: and that in all likelyhood the Enemy would plant their Guns on the firm Land, at both ends of this *Tougher*, and bring the ſtrength of their Army to defend that Paſſage; there being no other way, ſeeing we had not force to attempt them on the firm Land. I heard all this, and knew it well; yet, did not agree to the Impoſſibility of entring the place. Then addreſſing my ſelf to the *Deputy*, I begged pardon if I gueſſed at the thoughts of the Officers preſent; which was, that I being General

neral of the Horſe might well advance this Undertaking; For, I was to be with the Horſe, and ſo to have no ſhare in this Danger. But to ſhew them the contrary, I deſired his Excellency to give me the Command of this party of Foot; which he did: and himſelf to march with the Horſe to alarm the Enemy on another ſide. It being thus determined, I entred the Bog (which was eight miles long) with my two thouſand Foot, and his Excellency took his March as was agreed. Coming in ſight of this *Tougher*, I found the Enemy expecting as we had ſuppoſed, for they ſaw me Marching from the firſt entring into the Bog. I then put my men into the beſt Order I could in three Diviſions: two to attempt paſſing the *Tougher*, the third to ſtand ſtill, faceing two or three Battallions, that were drawn on my right hand; fearing they would fall on my Flank or Rear. I March'd on with my two Diviſions. Coming within Shot, they raked me with their Cannon,

Cannon, and great Volleys of ſmall Shot. But I advanced ſtill, and my men fought it on the *Tougher* with handy blows, making thoſe that Defended it, retire to their Horſe which ſtood drawn up at each end of the *Tougher* or firm Land. Seeing this go ſo well, I look'd back, and ſaw my third Diviſion, which was to ſtand ſtill, coming after me. I ran to it, crying to the Officer that Commanded, to attack the Battallions which he was commanded to look after: on this, he turned to his men, and ſpake ſomething in *Iriſh* that I do not know, and March'd two or three hundred Paces, in ſuch a faſhion, that I could not tell whether he intended Fighting or Running away. But coming to the Point where he muſt declare, he plainly run away, and all his Party followed him. which when the two Diviſions, that had paſſed the *Tougher* ſaw, they March-ed on into the Place: and I was left alone, only ſome Gentlemen with me; and by the favour of the night, for

now

now it began to be dark, I got off: and by the next morning returned to *Terrils Pace*, where I had left my Lord Deputy: who had all the Story before my coming, and ſending out took this Captain that had cauſed this Diſorder; who, by a Council of War being condemned, was ſhot to Death. His name was *Fox*.

After this *Ireton* was not idle, knowing our weakneſs too well, and that I did only keep up a Buſſel, till the King and *Cromwel* had decided their Quarrel. He therefore again ſate down before *Limbrick*, with a powerful Army, on the County of *Limbrick* ſide. I, with what Force could be drawn together, March'd to *Killalow*, and there Encamped. He kept a Guard on his ſide the River, as I did againſt him at *Bryans-Bridge*, and Caſtle *Conel*. We lay in this manner a long time: he attempting nothing either on the Town, or River, which was not yet forceable in any place.

My Lord *Deputy*, being at *Galway*, ſent

ſent me a Letter in all haſt to come to him. On my Arrival he told me, that the *Abbot of St. Katherine* was in the Harbour, and in his Company many Officers with a quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and other Materials for War. That they were ſent by the Duke of *Lorrain*, who pretended by ſome agreement to be *Protector Royal* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, with Power over all our Forces, and Places. And that he was to continue that Title and Dominion till after the War ended, he were reimburſt all his Expences; and his Damages ſatisfied. I was much ſtartled at this News. For though I ſtrugled to keep up a Buſſel, I never intended to buy it ſo dear as to give Footing, or colour of Pretence or Title to any Foreign Prince. And having heard my Lord all out, I took the boldneſs to ask him, how far he was concerned in this matter. He proteſted before God, and upon his Honour, that he never gave Commiſſion for any ſuch Treaty: and, as to the thing he knew

knew no more than what he had told me, other then that the *General Assembly* then sitting in the Town, were in great joy for this Succour, and prest him earnestly for the reception. But I found him entirely against it.

Being thus satisfied, I desired him to leave the matter to me, and let me deal with the Assembly. Immediately therefore I went and found them on the Debate. To which in my time I spake, and with much Detestation of the thing, declared all Traytors that were for receiving this succour on those terms: and that I would not sit more to hear of this Stuff, but return to my Forces, knowing what I had to do. My Lord *Deputy* was much pleased with this round Discourse: and publickly approved it. So the Abbot with what he had returned from whence he came.

At my return (which was without delay) to *Killalow*, I found all quiet. And, whether *Ireton* had Information of this Passage, I know not; but by a Trumpet I received from him a long

Letter,

Letter, four ſides of Paper cloſe written in a ſmall hand. The drift was, to ſet forth the juſtneſs of the Parliaments proceedings; their great Power; how ſhort a time I could ſubſiſt; what ill Company I was with, and threw what durt he could on the King I ſerved, but concluded with great value of my perſon; pitying my Condition, and offering me, that if I would retire and live in *England* privately, I ſhould not only enjoy my Eſtate, but remain in ſafety with the eſteem and favour of the Parliament. I immediately ſhewed this Letter, to Father *Peter Walſh*, my then Ghoſtly Father, whom I had always found faithful to the King, and a lover of his Country. With his advice, by the ſame Trumpet, I anſwered all his Points: and rejected his propoſition concerning my own perſon: deſiring him withal to ſend no more Trumpets with ſuch Errands, if perhaps he would not have the Meſſenger ill Treated. From this time there was an end of all Meſſages and Letters between us.

Now

Now *Ireton* remained still and quiet, without any action or attempt, expecting the coming of Sir *Charles Coot* on my back, or the fall of the River. Both came together, and besides that, a third unlucky accident. For now some days I had kept Guards towards *Conaught*, when *Ireton*, by Treachery of the Officer one Captain *Kelly*, made himself Master of *Bryans-Bridge*. 'Tis called so, though there be no Bridge. Whilst I was hastening with some Troops to oppose, having left the defence of the Pass at *Killalow* to Colonel *Fennel*, he cowardly or Treacherously quitted it, and with all his Party fled into *Limbrick*. Where, upon the rendition of the Town, which was not long after, *Ireton* with more than his ordinary justice, hanged him. Some say he was carried to *Cork*, and that it was done there. He pleaded for his Defence, not only this Service, but how he had betrayed me before *Toughal*. But his Judges would not hear him on his Merit, but bid him clear himself

of

of the Murders laid to his charge.

Now receiving Letters from my Lord *Deputy*, of Sir *Charles Coots* approach; I haſtened to him with what Troops I had left, *viz.* about three hundred Horſe, and found him drawn into *Loghreah* with his Forces, not being able to keep the Field againſt *Coot*, who was twice his number. The Enemy did not think fit to attempt him, and were gone by, before my coming. About this time *Athlone* gave up to them: and ſo did *Limbrick* to *Ireton* ſome few Months after. In the mean while my Lord *Deputy* and my ſelf, with what Troops we had, retired towards *Jerchonnoght*, under the Covert of the River that runs by *Galway*: and ſo ſhifted up and down, till Sir *Charles Coot* came before the Town on *Loghreahs* ſide, and had taken a Caſtle a little above on the River. Then we retired into *Galway*. Where we had not long been, before we heard of the Kings Defeat at *Worceſter*.

A man now would think, that this Noble Lord had diſcharged his part. Yet

his Zeal carried him farther. He dispatch'd me for *France* to the King, by the way of *Iniſſ-boſin* (for the River of *Galway* was full of Parliament Ships) with orders to ſet out the ill ſtate of his Majeſties Affairs in that Kingdom. And that nevertheleſs to ſerve his Majeſty, he intended after *Galway* ſhould be loſt, to make a Mountain War, and give the Enemy trouble for ſome time; if his Majeſty would but ſend him five hundred Barrels of Powder, with Match and Bullets proportionable, and ſome Arms, and appointed me to return with them to *Iniſs-boſin*, a fit place for our Magazine: it being a large Iſland, lying of *Serchounoght* three Miles into the Sea; in which we had a ſtrong Gariſon. 'Tis ſurrounded with Rocks: and has but one entrance; where there is a pretty good Harbour for Frigats and ſmall Men of War. I here Shipped my ſelf, and landed at *Breſt*, ordering the Frigate that brought me to expect my orders. The Captain was *Antonio Vanderſipp* of *Brugis*. We had a ſharp fight with

with an *Engliſh* Ship that we met in the way, but foul weather parted us. No great hurt was done, other than that the Biſhop of *Down* was Killed in the Cabbin, 'tis thought by the Wind of the Bullet or Fear, for he had not the leaſt ſign of any hurt, and lived near a quarter of an hour.

Being Landed, I took poſt for St. *Germains*, where I found the King, Queen-Mother and my Lord of *Ormond*. I delivered my Letters of Credit, and in a day or two had my Audience. They ſeemed to take it to heart, and Conſulted Cardinal *Mazerine*, and the chief Miniſters. But the truth of it is, that the King of *France*'s Affairs were at that time ſo much in diſorder, by reaſon of the Civil War, that nothing could be done. Having this Anſwer, the King gave me a Letter to my Lord *Deputy*, acknowledging his good Service: ordering him that he ſhould make the beſt conditions for himſelf and Party that he could: and expect a better ſeaſon. Having thus diſcharged my

Commiſſion, I diſmiſs'd my Frigate: and with the Kings permiſſion, engaged my ſelf in the Service of the Prince of *Conde*; who was then joyned with the *Spaniard*. But firſt, I ſent by a ſafe hand his Majeſties Letter away to my good Lord of *Clanrickard*. Of whom I have ſaid ſo much already, that I need add nothing but my own eſteem for his worthy Memory as a pattern of Loyalty. Between my leaving him, and his laying down Arms, I can give no account; but have heard that he was driven to great extremity.

SECT. X.

Some few Reflections more of Caſtlehaven *on himſelf. And the laſt of all is an acknowledgment of a moſt extraordinary favour of God to him.*

AND ſo I have done my Story. And you find by theſe Memoir's, that no man could arrive to greater Truſt and

and Credit than I had amongſt the *Iriſh*; though the War till the *Peace* of *Forty Six* was almoſt National. And then they made me what they could, by naming me to remain General of the Horſe of the Kingdom, in the Kings Service. Which was a Right left to them by that *Peace*.

It remains now, that I give thoſe few Reflections more upon my ſelf, which may let the Reader know, to what, next God's bleſſing, I impute that eſteem and fortune I had among the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*.

In my beginning I was a great Party-man. But conſidering my ſelf and Soldiers but young beginners, I meddled with nothing that was not almoſt ſure: remembring that young Hawks muſt be entred on weak game.

Having Marſhal-law, it was certain Death to take from any of our Friends the worth of a Hen. But withal I had care that my Soldiers ſhould not want.

If any thing happen'd of that kind,

I ſent out a Party with a ſure Officer, to bring in ſo many Beefs: and at his return to tell me where he took 'em. Then I iſſued my Order to the Commiſſioners, to applot on the County or Barony, from whence the cattle came, their value, and immediately to ſatisfie the Owners; which was always allowed out of their Contributions. This I held conſtantly during the War.

An other of my Rules, no leſs punctually obſerved, was, That if by accident any want fell out to be in the Army, I kept no Table, and eat no better than the Soldiers did. Though otherwiſe, I did generally keep a good Table: and my Officers were welcome to me.

I never took the worth of a crown for my ſelf, either from Country-man, Officer, or Soldier; but lived ſtill upon my bare Pay. Though the Council never ſtinted me; but left me at liberty to take beſides, what I ſhould think fit out of the Treaſure, that commonly March'd along with the Army, and

and was disposed of by my Orders.

I was a good *Providore*, and had my Magazines well furnished, and seated as I was to make the War. For men eat every day, but Fight seldom.

My Soldiers I called my Children: and really had a Fatherly love and care for them. And they by their duty, bravery, and affection, made me a full return.

I punisht severely; which made my Orders to be well observ'd: and rewarded bountifully, according to my power.

If an Officer, or Soldier, had done a brave Action: I treated the Officer some days at my Table: and took all occasions by talking to improve his glory; and seldom either Officer, or Soldier went without advancement, or other reward.

I made it my business always to March and Encamp so, as not to be engag'd to Fight: without an enemy would come on great disadvantage.

My Intelligence and Spies cost me very dear. But I had good.

Whenever I Fought, or had a mind to Fight; coming in view of the Enemy, and being in order of Battle, I rode to all the Battallions and Squadrons, to observe their looks. And then, with

with a cheerful countenance, acquainting them them truly with what I knew of the Enemy, and our Condition, I told them my own opinion for Fighting: and, if they liked it, I would go on; otherwiſe, not. This I did to engage them in judgment, as well as duty.

I made it my buſineſs to get my Troops good Winter-Quarters. But, during the Field, I was very ſtrict in my Muſters. And ever and anon, being not in danger of an Enemy, I made the Battallions and Squadrons March by Companies: that I might know their number juſt. For a General will be cozen'd if he brings his men to Fight on ſworn Relations.

I ſuffer'd no Officer to take from a Soldier the worth of a penny. I do not remember, that, during the time I ſerv'd the Confederate Catholicks, they ever gave me any Inſtructions what I ſhould do; but left all to my ſelf. Which made their buſineſs go the better.

I ſhall now conclude theſe Reflections, with the greateſt Reflection of all, which is on my infinite obligation to Almighty God; who hath ſo protected me, that to this hour, neither in thoſe Wars of *Ireland*, or any other that I have been in ſince, either Army, or Party of Army, great, or ſmall, was ever beaten ſo by an Enemy, as to loſe their ground to the end of the Fight, where I Commanded in Chief.

FINIS.

ADDENDA.

Page 16. *Line* 16. *after* Juſtices.

But was troubled to ſee nothing but hideous Mountains and Bogs before me, no Guide or Path to lead me, ſo that day I advanced ittle, and at night lay in a Wood, where we ſaw far off ſome Fires, but near hand, on all ſides, we heard the howling of Wolves, and in the morning the hollowing of men one to another, we hollowed likewiſe, and a Party of the Iriſh came unto us; the Trooper, who ſpake their Language, told them who I was, and how I had eſcaped out of Priſon, and deſired them to bring us to their Commander, which they did, who uſed us civilly, and ſent us with a Guide to another: Thus from place to place we were conducted to *Kilkenny*, where being come, I found

that on my Impriſonment *Caſtlehaven* was Garriſoned by the Engliſh, my ſtock of Sheep and Cattel taken, and my houſe plundered.

Page 25. *Line* 1. *after* marched.

With all care poſſible, ſcarce day or night quitting my horſe.

Page 37. *Line* 19. *after* ſubmitted.

And if a Peace had been concluded in any reaſonable time, the miſchiefs that followed had been prevented, and the King had been ſupplied with conſiderable Forces of both Engliſh and Iiſh

Page 50. *Line* 17. *after* Convoys.

During this idle time I went often to ſee my Horſe-Quarters, and one day lying down by the *Blackwater* ſide, and merry with the Officers, a number of the Horſemen came about me,

me, and I, in a pleaſant way, asked them what they would give me to bring them to a days work with the Enemy: They anſwered, they ſhould be glad to ſee it, if I could make their Doublets and Skins proof againſt Lances, of which the Scots had many Squadrons. Having found this apprehenſion, I paſs'd off the diſcourſe, and returning to my Camp, that night diſpatch'd an expreſs to my Magazine at *Wexford* to bring me thence ſo many defenſive Arms as might cover two Ranks of my Horſe, which being come, and I growing every day more uneaſie than other, for

Page 70. *Line* 5. *after* am.

Now I muſt tell you, that coming to *Kilkenny*, and finding the Treaty of Peace going ſlowly on, and with much oppoſition, I quitted, and would return no more into *Munſter*. About the middle of this Campaign *Rennucceni*, Archbiſhop and Prince of

Fermo, arrived in the Weſt of this Province, ſent by Pope *Innocent* X. as his Nuncio to the Confederate Catholicks of *Ireland*; but coming near the Coaſt, he was chaſed by a Parliament Frigat, Commanded by one *Plunket*, and as he was ready to lay him on Board, to the great misfortune of the Confederate Catholicks, and many other good Intereſts, *Plunkets* Kitchin Chimney took fire, which to quench he was forced to lie by, in the mean time the Nuncio got the ſhore.

Page 102. *Line* 15. *after* Carick.

But *Cromwel*, for his better ſecurity, left Collonel *Reynolds* with a great Party of Horſe and Foot in *Carick* to to keep the Town and the Bridge; my Lord Lieutenant came before this place with his Armies, but before he attempted any thing. was called away on an Alarm that *Waterford* was in danger, ſo left the Command of his Troops

Troops to the Lord *Inchequin* and Lord *Taffe*, who immediately gave order to ſtorm the place, which was done with great bravery. Now it was my fortune to come as this begun, not having been with the Army in many weeks before, and putting my ſelf in a convenient place to ſee, it beginning to be dark, Collonel *John Bary* ſtumbled upon me, and kept me company; after a little time hearing a great ſhout, he asked me what I thought of the matter? I anſwered, that I hoped our people were entred; he ſmiled, ſaying, you know the Town hath a ſtone Wall, and round Towers, how ſhould men enter having neither Ladders, Crow of Iron, Pickax, or any other thing elſe to make a breach: This being true, after loſing ſome hundreds of brave men, the Army had order to draw off, leaving *Reynolds* to do what he thought fit, which was ſoon to follow *Cromwel* into the County of *Cork*.

A D-

Advertiſement.

I *Can find no body that will own to be the Author of the Printing a Letter, intituled,* From a Perſon of Honour in the Country, *written to the Earl of* Caſtlehaven, *being Obſervations and Reflections upon his Lordſhips Memoires concerning the Wars of* Ireland; *ſo I ſhall not trouble my ſelf about it other than to confeſs that I did receive a Letter from a Perſon of Honour, written as he ſaid in the Country, but he himſelf delivered it to me in* London, *and I have it by me, it contains much of what is ſet forth in the Print.*

At the time I received it, the Perſon of Honour and my ſelf had much diſcourſe on the moſt material points, and ſince that time we talked no more of it.

Now the Noble Perſon who wrote to me abſolutely denies that he ever ordered, or was privy to the Printing his Letter,

or

or knew any thing of the Printed Poſt-ſcript, it being moſt malicious and falſe, as his Lordſhip and many other Noble Perſons know, for he hath a former Letter of mine in anſwer of one he wrote to me, wherein he deſired me to ſend him a Book, intituled my Memoires, wherein I diſavowed any ſuch Memoires to have been publiſhed by me, or by my knowledge; yet I ſent him the Book I thought he meant, and told him how I came by it, and the great trouble I had to ſee my Papers, though Printed, expoſed in a Book before I had well peruſed them, and finiſhed what I intended to write; and that I had fallen out with the Book-ſeller on this point, who had engaged himſelf not to let my Papers to be ſeen; but ſeeing no remedy, all I could do was to ſtop the going forth of any more, till at leaſt the Preface to the Reader went out with it: Thus you ſee how my Memoires came out imperfect, without the Appendix, which was alſo deſigned, and other things, ſome few I now thruſt in by way of Addenda's.

AN

AN APPENDIX.

IN the Year 1638. being at *Rome*, I received a Letter from the late King *Charles* the First, requiring me to attend him in his Expedition againſt the *Scots*, then revolted and in Arms; Two days after I took Poſt for *England*, and near *Turin* fell into an Army Commanded by the Marqueſs *de Leganes*, Governour of *Millan* for the King of *Spain*, who was marching to joyn another Army, then beſieging that place: But ſoon the Siege was raiſed, and I went into the Town, where I found her Royal Highneſs the Dutcheſs of *Savoy* in great diſorder, as if ſhe had got no

reſt in many nights; I taking leave of her ſhe gave me a Muſket Bullet, much battered, to deliver to her Siſter the Queen of *England*, that came in at her Window, and miſſed her narrowly.

Arriving at *London*, I followed the King to *Berwick*, who I found encamped with a brave Army near it, the River of *Tweed* before him for the number, to this hour I never ſaw a better; as I was told and believe, it could not be leſs than ſixteen or ſeventeen Thouſand Horſe and Foot, with a good Train of Artillery. Soon after my Arrival there was a Pacification, the next day I dined with *Leſly* General of the *Scots*, he ſhewed me his Army in Battalia, in number about ten or twelve thouſand Horſe and Foot, but as to the Horſes and Arms, the twentieth man could not have paſſed Muſter amongſt any Armies I have ſince ſeen.

After this I paſſed my time as well as I could at home, till in the year 1640.

the

the King of *France* beſieged *Arras*; on the news I went for *Bruxels*, and thence followed the Prince Cardinal (Governour of the *Low-Countries*) whom I found at *Doway*, his Army intrenched near the Town, expecting the coming up of others, eſpecially the Troops of the Emperour, commanded by *Lamboy*, and thoſe of *Lorain*, by the Duke of *Lorain* himſelf; All being arrived, the whole Army marched, and coming to *Monte St. Aloy*, near the Enemies Line, encamped on the height by it: Many great Parties were ſent out for the cutting off Convoys, but they came ſo ſtrong that little good was done upon them. The King of *France* being at *Amiens*, who took care of all whilſt Monſieur *Millerie*, grand Maſter *de l' Artilery*, preſt the Siege; much time was trifled in this manner by the Spaniards, at length they attacked the Line, but were beaten off; then jealouſies and diſcontents began amongſt the great ones, which daily

encreaſed, and the *Band d' Ordinance* beaten, where their Lieutenant General, the Count *de Boſſue*, was killed; The hopes of raiſing the Siege grew deſperate, and at length the Town was rendred to the French, (*Owen Roe Oneal*, afterwards General of the Province of *Ulſter* for the Iriſh in *Ireland*, commanded within) The blame of not ſuccouring this place was laid on *Don Philip de Silva*, Governour of Arms under the Prince Cardinal; he was afterwards made Priſoner in *Spain* on that ſuſpition, as having betrayed the Undertaking, but was after releaſed, laying the blame on the firſt Miniſter, that then governed that Monarchy under the King, as having done all by his Orders, being the *Conde* Duke.

After ſeeing this Action, I returned for *England*, and went thence for *Ireland*, where I had ſome Eſtate, and whilſt I was there, broke forth the Rebellion of 1641. which kept me in War and trouble till the peace of 1646.

1646. then I went for *France*, as is ſeen in the Memoires.

Coming to *Paris*, and hearing that *Landriſie* was beſieged by Duke *Leopoldus*, Governour of the *Low Countries*, and that a French Army was gone to the Succour, I had the curioſity to ſee that Action; ſo I bought horſes and followed; being come to the Army, in two or three days after we imbattled before the Line, and ſo near, that the Enemies Canon killed many men and horſes in our ſecoud Line; I was in the firſt Line, a right-hand man, in Prince *Roberts* Troop, commanded by Captain *Somerſet Fox*, the Prince ſerving as Lieutenant General: Now it beginning to be dark, all were fitted for Attacking the Line, and juſt as we expected the word to advance and fall on, we had Orders to retreat in the ſilenteſt manner poſſible, without the leaſt touch of Drum or Trumpet: However the Enemy diſcovering it, came out, and did us ſome miſchief in the Rear, and would

have done more, if Prince *Robert*, that commanded it, had not acted his part well; by what I could hear as cauſe of this ſudden change, the two Marſhals, *Gation* and *Ranſo*, that commanded, could not agree on the work they had in hand.

I returned for *Paris*, remained there, attending the Queen and Prince of *Wales* Orders, then at St. *Germains*, till the year 1648. then I went for *Ireland* with the Marqueſs of *Ormond*, Lord Lieutenant there, ſerving the King againſt the *Nuncio*, *Cromwel*, and other the Kings Enemies, till 1651. that all was loſt, *Cromwel* Conquerour of the three Kingdoms, and the King fled into *France*, whither I followed, and with his Majeſties leave, engaged in the Prince of *Condes* ſervice (then joyned with the Spaniards) firſt, for a Troop of *Gen d' Armes*; ſoon after, for a Regiment of Horſe, but neither were ever mounted, though I had the men ready in *Paris*, as was ordered. Whilſt I was thus,

thus, I came ſoon enough to the Rampart to ſee ſome part of the fight in the Suburbs of St. *Anthony*, which begun early in the morning the ſecond of *July* 1652, the King of *France* looking on from the Hill of *Saronne*. The Prince of *Conde* hardly had time to Baracado the Avenues when he was Attacked by Monſieur *de Turain* commanding the Kings Army, with a force three times in number more than his; the fight was very bloudy, and had been fatal to the Confederates, had not the Activity beſides the valour and conduct of this brave Prince prevented it by riding from Barrier to Barrier, where his were moſt preſſed; thus he entertained the fight till about Noon, that by means of *Madamoiſelle d' Orleans*, the Gate of St. *Antoine* was opened for their retreat into the City; after this the Confederates had all freedom in *Paris* till about the twelfth of *October* 1652. The Prince of *Conde*, Duke of *Lorain*, and the reſt of the Confederates left *Paris*,

and that night came to their Army at *Dammartin*, and took their march towards *La Ferte*, *Moline*, and *Fines*, I marched with them, though as a ſingle man.

The firſt places the Prince of *Conde* took (theſe Troops joyned) were *Ratele*, which he beſieged the twenty ſeventh of *October* 1652. took the Outworks the twenty eighth, the Town the twenty ninth, and the Caſtle the ſecond of *November*, the Governour Monſieur *Rale*. *Chaſteau Porſine* yielded the twenty eighth of *October*, making little reſiſtance. Near about the ſame time St. *Menehout* was inveſted, the Prince of *Conde* and Duke of *Lorain* commanding, and rendred the thirteenth of *November* 1652. St. *Maure* Commander. This place coſt dear both in men and time by the miſtake of the true Attack, which diſcovered, and the Batteries changed, did not reſiſt twelve hours.

About

About the ſame time the Duke of *Orleans* Troops left us, the Duke having made his peace.

The twenty third of *November* 1652. the Prince took *Barleduke* after ſome days Siege, and a breach made, Monſieur *de Fouge*, Lieutenant General of the *Lorain* Army, was there killed with a Musket ſhot, viewing the breach. *Comercy* Caſtle and Town about the ſame time ſurrendred to the Prince without much trouble.

The Caſtle of *Voyd* after ſome days ſiege was the ninth of *December* yielded to the Prince.

Now the Marſhal *de Turen*, having gotten a good Army together, came near us, and beſieged *Barleduke*, which in a few days he regained; and whilſt this was doing, ſurprized the Town of *Comercy*, where my ſelf with many others were taken Priſoners, but the Count *de Fieſque*, who commanded, being in the Caſtle maintained it. Monſieur *Marole*, Governour of *Tunville*,

Tanville, who did this feat, the next day brought me to the quarter of Monſieur *de la Ferte*, who gave me leave on my Parol to viſit the Duke of *York* in the quarter of Monſieur *de Turain*; his Royal Highneſs at my requeſt got me to be exchanged, ſo I returned to the Prince, and the Officer exchanged went to the Marſhal *de la Ferte*, of whoſe Army he was. This Campaign ended with our having taken *Vervins*, which was the twenty ninth of *January* 1652.

The twenty third of *April* 1653. the Prince of *Conde* arrived in *Bruxels*, and was lodged in the Palace.

The Campaign following opened in the Siege of *Rotroy* the fifth of *September* 1653. the ſeventh the Line of Circumvallation was begun, and finiſhed the twelfth, the Trenches opened the eleventh; the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans* had each an Attack, the twenty ſecond the three Nations were lodged on the Counterſcarp, ſharp Sallies were made, with ſome loſs

loſs to the Beſiegers, however they held their ground, and faſtned a Miner or two to one of the Baſtions, which were ready to Spring the twenty ſixth; the next night the Mines were ſprung, and a breach made in the face of the Baſtion, ſomething too near the Point; however our People lodged themſelves, and the Enemy entrenched in the Baſtion, but not being able to make it good, the Garriſon much weakned with the loſs of men killed and hurt, the firſt of *Octo-ber* 1653. the place was rendred; I never knew Bombes annoy any place ſo much as this. From the firſt day of this Siege to the laſt nothing but rain, with ill weather; and that which was worſe, the Prince of *Conde* deſperately ſick all the time, however though he lay in his Bed, nothing of conſequence was done but by his advice. Duke *Leopoldus* commanding in chief, the Governour of the place was the *Chevalier Montague*, who as I remember was brought out wounded: The

Duke

Duke of *Lorains* Troops, commanded by the Count of *Luniville* assisted in this *Siege*, at which the Duke seemed to be ill pleased, for he was angry with *Luniville*, and rebuked him severely.

The twenty fifth of *February* 1654. the Duke of *Lorain* being in *Bruxels*, and his Army near the Town, was Arrested by the Count *de Garrsie Mastre de* Camp General, so ordered by Duke *Leopoldus*, and convoyed to the Castle of *Antwerp*: But Prince *Francoys* of *Lorain*, being at *Vienna*, was sent for, which appeased the Officers, especially when he arrived at *Bruxels*, which was the ninth of *May* following. All this time, besides the quality of Marshal *de Camp*, I had the particular command of nine or ten Regiments of *Irish*, making five thousand men; and the Campaign coming on, the Prince ordered me to make a detachment of a thousand of the choice men I had, dividing them into fifties, commanded by

by Lieutenants, only one fifty might have a Captain, and then to deliver them to the Count *de Briole*, Marſhal *de Camp*; which I did, though with much murmur of the Collonels, and other Officers, concluding never to ſee their men again, which fell out true, being to be ſent far off, as to *Clermont*, *Steny*, and other places.

This Campaign began with the King of *Frances* beſieging *Steny*, which he did the ninth of *June* 1654. the third or fourth of *July* the Trenches were opened, the Circumvallation finiſhed in the firſt five or ſix days. The Spaniards thought to raiſe this Siege by Attacking another place, and beſieged *Arras*, inveſting it the third of *July* 1654. Monſieur *Mondieux* Governour; the Lines of Circumvallation finiſhed the ninth, not ſo large by two Leagues as when the French took it: The twelfth or thirteenth the Trenches were opened; though the Chevalier *de Crequi* with two or three hundred Horſe had entred the Town, the

the ſixth or ſeventh of *July* ſome other attempts were made to put in ſuccour, but none hit to any purpoſe; it is certain the Army was no way provided or ſufficient for the work, to man ſo large a Line, and furniſh the Attacks; which were two, one the Spaniards, the other the Prince of *Conde*. The *Lorainers*, commanded by Prince *Francois* had no Attack, the ground was ſuch that the Ditch of the Line in moſt places could hardly be made of any depth; to ſupply which defects, eight or ten rows of great holes were made before it, with Stakes like Palliſads beaten into them; whilſt we were now carrying on our Attacks, with much Art and Valour, Monſieur *de Turain* with a ſmall Army poſted himſelf at *Montriporeux*, and *Vitry*, about a League from our Line, almoſt in the way to *Doway*, from whence much of our Proviſions and other things came; but when *Steny* was yielded, being the ſixth of *Auguſt*, the Count *de Camillie* Governour, and the

the Marques *de Fabert* commanding the Army; The King with his Army marched and posted himself near Mount St. *Aloye*, not far from our Line, so that in truth we were in a manner now besieged; but quickly put out of our pain, for soon after, being the twenty fourth or twenty fifth of *August*, an hour before day, our Line was Alarmed round, Attacked really in two or three places, and forced in a short time: Thus *Arras* was relieved, and our Army retreated to *Cambray*; after this *Quenoy* yield to the *French*, so this Field ended.

I do not remember any thing remarkable that passed in the year 1655. But the fifteenth of *June* 1656. Monsieur *de Turain* invested *Valencennes*, to the succour of which *Don John* Governour of the *Low-Countries*, having gotten his Army together, marched; The Prince of *Conde* with his Army joyned, they posted themselves the first of *July* at *Farmars*, a League from

from the Town, (and very near the Enemies Line) where they intrenched; The twenty eighth of *June* the French opened their Trenches with two Attacks from the two Armies, of *Turain* and *la Ferte*; much ſcuffling there was at this Siege between the Town and the Enemy, many brave Sallies made, and as gallantly oppoſed, ſeveral Works taken by the French, and regained by the Garriſon. The Governour, the Duke of *Burneville*, cauſed Sluces to be opened, which raiſed waters in the Enemies Camp, and much hindered the Communication between the two Armies of *Turain* and *la Ferte*; till one morning at the uſual hour, being the ſixteenth of *July*, *Don John*, and the Prince of *Conde* fell on the Enemies Line, alarming it on all ſides, and where they Attacked it really entred, though it coſt much bloud on both ſides; many Priſoners were taken of the French, one of which was the Marſhal *de la Ferte*; *Valenciennes* thus relieved. The

The twenty first of *July* 1656. the Spaniards and Prince of *Conde* blocked *Conde*, Monſieur *de Paſſage* Gover-vernour; The eighth of *Auguſt* they finiſhed their Line of Circumvallation, and the place being vigourouſly Attacked, was rendred the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt*. Here ended this Campaign.

The next Field was begun by the ſame Prince and Army, beſieging St. *Gilaine* the ſixteenth of *March* 1657. Monſieur *de Chomburge* Governour; the Story is not worthy to be remembred, but the place was rendred the twenty ſecond of *March*. Soon after, being the twenty eighth of *May* 1657. the Marſhal *de Turain* inveſted *Cambray*, and took his Poſts for the Siege, but the Prince of *Conde* being at *Boſeu*, near *Monts*, marched immediately with four thouſand Horſe, and the twenty ninth in the Evening came near the Camp of the Enemy; the chief Commanders with him were Monſieur *Perſan*, *Botevile*, *Mille*,

Colinie, *Gitto*, Lieutenant Generals; *Romainville*, *d' Yenne*, Marſhals *de Camps*; and the next morning, an hour before day, fell on Monſieur *de Turain's* Quarters, broke into the Town, and relieved it: However the French loſt no courage, but the twenty ſixth of *Auguſt* following beſieged St. *Venant*, and about the ſame time *Don John*, the Duke of *York*, and Prince of *Conde* beſieged *Ardares*; and for the better diſpatch, the twenty eighth they made a general aſſault, taking all the Out-works, and faſtned Miners to the Walls in three places, but St. *Venant* yielding ſooner than was expected, the Princes were inforced to raiſe their Siege.

Mardike was beſieged by the French the twenty ninth of *September* 1657. and taken in five days.

The next Campaign began the fourteenth of *May* 1658. when the Marſhal *d' Annont*, attempting to gain *Oſtend* by Intelligence and ſurpriſal, was taken himſelf in his own Net, the

the particular Relation is pleaſant, but it having been often Printed, Ile let it alone. Now though this Marſhal of *France* fell into this misfortune, Monſieur *de Turain*, did abundantly recover the honour, loſing no time, for the twenty fourth of *May* 1658. he beſieged *Dunkirke*, *Don John*, the Duke of *York*, and Prince of *Conde*, with all the force they could make, came to the ſuccour, and it ſeems with confidence that *Turain* durſt not appear without his Line, for otherwiſe they would not have come neat ſo ill provided, moſt of their Horſe being gone to forrage, or ſcattered up and down, and their Canon not arrived: But Monſieur *de Turain* failed them, for knowing they came from *Furnes*, he marched to meet them; on the Downs thus they encountred the fourteenth of *June* 1658. and after much fighting the honour of the Field remained to the French; yet the Town held ſtoutly though the Succours were beaten, for it never capi-

tulated till the fourteenth of *July* that their brave Governour, the Marqueſs *de Lede*, was wounded mortally, of which he died, ſo the Town yielded the ſame day.

The French being in this humour of Conquering, Monſieur *la Ferte* beſieged *Graveling* the twenty ſeventh or twenty eighth of *July* 1658. it capitulated the twenty eighth of *Auguſt*, and was rendred the next day.

The French Courage did not reſt here, for ſoon after the Prince *de Line*, General of the King of *Spain*, his Army being routed near *Ipres*, he with his Guards, and ſome other Troops, ſaved themſelves in the Town, on which the French beſieged them, and in four or five days the Town was yielded, being the twenty fourth of *September*.

The twenty ſeventh of *October* 1658. the French took *Comines*, which made good reſiſtance.

Now

Now a ſuſpenſion of Arms, concluded the ninth of *May* 1659. being followed, with the *Pyrenean* peace ſigned the ſeventh of *November* 1659. put an end to the War, which had ſo long raged.

After this there being no more War, but on the contrary a ſetled quiet in this part of the world; I followed the King and his Court till the year 1667, that the French invaded *Flanders*, then I was ſent thither by his Majeſty with 2400. men, a Recruit for the old Engliſh Regiment, of which I was made Collonel, and about the fifteenth of *June* 1667. with ſome of them landed at *Oſtend*, the reſt ſoon following; theſe men were immediately thrown into Towns, as *Newport*, *Lille*, *Courtray*, *Audenard*, &c, but before my coming, the King of *France* had ſeiſed *Armentiers*, as it was demoliſhing, the twenty fourth of *May* 1667. keeping the Governour and moſt of the Garriſon Priſoners of War; he likewiſe the eleventh of

June 1667. layed hold of *Charleroy* before it was fully fortified and manned. The fifteenth of *June* the King seized *Aeth*, and *Tournay* he invested the twenty first of *June*, rendred the twenty fourth. The first of *July* he besieged *Doway*, and the Fort of St. *Antoine* on the Scarp rendred, the Town yielded the sixth to Monsieur *de Turain*. Till about this time the Spaniards did not know themselves absolutely to be in War, for their Troops often met the French, and parted as friends.

The eighteenth of *July* 1667. *Courtry*, with the Cittadel, was taken by the French, having made resistance for some days. *Audenard* was taken by the French the first of *August*, with little resistance.

The fifth of *August* the King of *France*, having for some days attempted the taking of *Dermond*, left it after the loss of many men, as reported: But the King soon after besieged *Lille*, opened the Trenches before it

the

the nineteeth of *Auguſt*, yielded the twenty ſeventh; the Count *de Bruxix* Governour.

The Count de *Marcine*, *Maiſter de Camp*, General for the King of *Spain*, was at this time in *Ipers* with a conſiderable body of Horſe, and ſome Foot, of which I had ſix or ſeven hundred of my Regiment, he pretending to ſuccour the place, but on the news of its rendition he marched away with all his Horſe, hoping to recover *Gaunt*, but whether by reaſon of the ill ways, and foul weather, or other hindrances came ſhort, for the French Horſe were gotten before him, and encamped near *Marykirke*, not far from the Town, one *Holland* ſide of the cut River that goes between *Gaunt* and *Bruges*, and the thirty one of *Auguſt* early in the morning (having no right intelligence of the Enemy) fell in amongſt the French Horſe; thus ſurpriſed, and marching on Dikes, he was enforced to fight for it, and as men catched, in

this manner, after ſome diſpute, was routed, many of his men and Officers killed, and taken Priſoners, himſelf narrowly eſcaping. The French thus encouraged fell on *Aloſt*, midway between *Bruxels* and *Gaunt*, and after ſeveral aſſaults, it was rendred the ninth or tenth of *September* 1667.

Now to ſave what was left of the *Low-Countries*, there was no other remedy (for Army we had none) but by the mediation of the neighbour Princes to gain a ſuſpenſion of Arms, publiſhed the ſixth of *March* 1668. and was to hold till the laſt of the Month; then there was a ſecond Suſpenſion of Arms, which begun the fifteenth of *April* following, and was to laſt to the end of *May:* But the Peace of *Aix la Chapel* concluded the ſecond of *May* following, put an end to our trouble.

Now by what you have heard, and that ſoon after was done in *Holland*, the King of *France* remained with a compleat right to the ſaying of *Veni, Vidi, Vici.* Since

Since the Peace of *Aix*, the Spaniſh *Netherlands* enjoyed a ſhew of quietneſs, till about the fourth of *October* 1673. Then at a meeting between the Count *de Montrey*, Governour of the *Low-Countries*, and the Prince of *Orange*, at a Village near *Antwerp*, called *Galmethaut*, within half a League of the Priory of *Huybergnen*, *Spain* was engaged in a new War againſt the French, both Parties ſeeming inclined to a breach. I do not know all the reaſons, but for a long time each complained of Infractions: The French, that the Spaniards had aſſiſted the Prince of *Orange* in his attempt for the ſurprize of *Charleroy*, in which he failed, ſent of their Troops to man certain Towns, belonging to the States of *Holland*, as *Bolduke*, *Berginopſome*, and other places; that their Troops were aſſiſting the Prince of *Orange*, in the taking of *Narden* near *Amſterdam*, &c.

The Spaniards complained that the Kings Countreys were eaten up and deſtroyed

destroyed, by the marching of French Troops through them, especially when the King of *France* with his Army entred about *Bruges* and *Gaunt*, marching at discretion, fearing no Enemy till he came to *Bruxels*, where he encamped on all sides several days. After this refreshment he continued his March to *Maestricht*, which he besieged the eleventh of *June* 1673. and took it the thirtieth. That the Prince of *Conde* had for several Weeks lain with an Army, eating and destroying the Country of *Alost*, belonging to the King of *Spain*, and did not quit it till the tenth of *October* 1673. two or three days after the War brake forth between the two Crowns. Much more was said on both sides.

Now on the breaking out of this new War, the Marshal *de Belfond*, who commanded for the King of *France* in *Holland*, had order to draw all his Forces thence, and march to *Maestricht*.

Then

Then the Count *de Montry*, fearing that he would take *Ruremond* in his way, ſent me to command, there being General *de Battlé*; But the Marſhal ſpared me, and piked up *Erklanes*, a ſmall Town two Leagues from me, ſeated on the *Rore*; being paſſed, he joyned the Prince of *Conde* near *Maeſtricht*, and alarmed *Stevenſwert*, a regular place and tenable, when there is no want within it; I in an hours time received two Orders from the Count *de Montry*, brought by two Reformed Officers, ſent expreſs, requiring me on ſight to march with five hundred of the *Germans*, in Garriſon with me, and to endeavour the getting into *Stevenſwert*, where I was to command, and if I were worſted in the Attempt, to ſave my ſelf, and ſuch as remained after the fight to *Venlow*. I received theſe Orders as I was at Dinner, about one of the Clock, and got into the place with my men by ſix of the Clock that Evening, though it were three or four Leagues, for the

place

place was not inveſted, as the Count *de Montry* thought; however theſe Armies kept us in doubt four or five days, till at length, having taken the Caſtle of *Argento*, they beſieged *Navany*, the twentieth of *May* 1674. a Fort belonging to the King of *Spain*, on the River *Meux*, ſeated between *Liege* and *Maeſtricht*, it was rendred the twenty third of *May*. After this, having trifled much time in marching up and down, the Prince of *Conde* with his Army came to *Pieton*, a ſtrong Poſt in its nature by reaſon of the two Rivers of *Samber* and *Pieton*, but withal he was ſtrongly intrenched, and had much Canon on his Batteries, and Cavaliers.

About the fifteenth of *July* 1674. *Dinant* with the Caſtle was ſurpriſed by the Imperialiſts, commanded by the Count *de Souch*, and the twenty ſecond of *July* following they paſſed the *Meux* near *Namurs* to joyn the Prince of *Orange*, and other the Confederates. Now all being together, after

after ſeveral Campings they came to *Nivel*, hoping to draw the Prince of *Conde* from his Entrenchments to a fair Battel, ſhewing themſelves in Battel before him. Serveral days paſſed thus, then they marched from *Nivel* the ninth of *Auguſt*, and the next day encamped at *Scneff*, *Jeluy*, and other places thereabouts; all this while the Enemy never appeared, though by coming near many occaſions were offered. Seeing nothing could prevail, the eleventh of *Auguſt* 1674. the Prince of *Orange*, with the Confederates, very early in the Morning marched off, entending to encamp between *Marymont* and *Binch*: But being to paſs within a little League of the Enemies Camp, they made a detachment of five thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, for the better ſecurity of the Rear. In the march the Imperialiſts had the Van-guard, the Hollanders the Battel, the Spaniards, conſiſting of ſixteen Squadrons of Horſe; The Rear-guard having marched

ſome

ſome time in this manner, about ten or eleven a Clock in the Morning, being *Saturday*, the Enemy began to appear, attacking the Rear, and, though well diſputed, carried all before them for ſome hours, till the Germans turned, and joyned with ſome of the Holland-Army not broken, gave a ſtop to this furious beginning, and brought it to a bloudy Battel, the fortune of which ſeemed to change; both ſides bragged of Victory: The Fight ended *Sunday*-morning, and that night the Confederates encamped where they were to have been the night before: And the Prince of *Conde* returned to his retrenchments at *Pieton*.

The Prince of *Orange* being a ſtranger, and not knowing the Country, left himſelf and Army to be guided by ſome of the Spaniſh Generals, that knew the Country, who brought him ſo near the Prince of *Conde's* retrenchment, that in going off his Rear muſt be expoſed, yet not ſo much if he had taken

taken his march more on the right hand, by which he had left ſome difilies or ſtrait ways between him & the enemy, but in the morning marching the ſtrait way, he gave ſo much invitation for the enemy to fall on his Rear, and next day after the Battel. The Prince complained much, and falls very heavy on the Generals who adviſed this march, but it was too late.

Theſe were the moſt powerful Armies that had been ſeen in theſe Countries in many years. I believe the Confederates did much paſs in number, though the Prince of *Conde's* Army in moſt mens judgments exceeded forty thouſand Horſe and Foot; the report of the ſlain and wounded is very various, but they may be taken at eight thouſand of both ſides; I know not which loſt moſt, but the quality exceeded the number; amongſt other brave men were ſlain the Marqueſs *de Aſcentar*, Maſter *de Camp*, General for the Spaniards, and Sir *Walter Vane*, Major

Major General, ſerving the Hollanders.

The Prince of *Orange* after this Battel of *Seneff* loſt no time, for the ſeventeenth of *September* following he had formally beſieged *Audenard* (the Sieur *de Roſſpaine* Governour) and having much advanced his Trenches, had notice of the Prince of *Condes* approach, with his Army increaſed, the Marſhal *de Humers* having joyned to him eight or ten thouſand men; on this the Confederates drew moſt of their men out of the Attacks, but remained within the Line until next morning, and then with the favour of a dark Miſt quitted all, and left the Siege, and got to *Gaunt*, I know not how, but certainly in a great confuſion, after the loſs of many men; much blame was laid on the Count *de Souch*; whether he were faulty or no, he ſoon with his Army returned for *Germany*, and the Prince of *Orange* poſted for *Grave* (long beſieged by General *Ravenholt*, a *Holland* Commander,)

mander,) and took it. About the twenty ſecond of *October* 1674. the Army of the States General left *Flanders*, and returned to their Country.

The King of *France* began the Campaign the year 1675. with the Siege of *Limburg*: The Prince of *Orange*, and Duke of *Villa hermoſa*, then Governour of the *Low-Countries*, aſſembled their Armies near *Lovain*, and marched in all haſte to its ſuccour, though in miſerable weather: They paſſed the *Meuſe* at *Roermond*; but before they could arrive at the Ene-Camp, the place was yielded, being the twentieth of *June*, after a very good defence, the Prince of *Naſſaw* Governour of it, and the Province. The Army of the Confederates much ſhattered, and in diſorder with ſo terrible a March, being returned to *Aerſcot* encamped there, and near about for a long time, till being well refreſhed and recovered, they began their march towards *Monts*; and

Binch, without the Armies coming to it, yielded to a Party, ſent by the Prince of *Orange*, the laſt of *Auguſt* 1675.

The Campaign of the year 1676. began with the King of *Frances* beſieging *Conde*, which he did the nineteenth of *April*. The Prince of *Orange*, and Duke of *Villa hermoſa*, marched to its ſuccour, but coming near found it rendred, the twenty fifth of the ſame Month, not being able to reſiſt longer the ſeveral aſſaults the French made.

The King of *France* not contenting himſelf with *Conde*, ſent his Brother the Duke of *Orleans* and the Marſhal *de Crequi* to beſiege *Bouchain*, which they did *May* 5. 1676. and the King to cover the Siege encamped at *Keverine* facing towards *Monts*, the River before him. On this intelligence ſome days after, the Prince of *Orange*, and Duke of *Villa hermoſa*, being with their Army encamped near *Monts*, marched, and on Bridges of Boats, before

fore day, paſſed *l' Eſcaulte*, within Canon ſhot of *Conde*, leaving it on the left hand; and not loſing time, about ten or eleven of the Clock that morning, being the ninth of *May*, gained the height between *Valenciennes* and the Abbey of *Bone Eſperance*; but coming there, we found the King of *France* on a height embattelling his Army before us, about half a League diſtant, all plain between the two Armies, and juſt in the way between us and *Bouchain*; ſo near we were, that the Canon killed from one Army to the other. Thus poſted, thoſe that were not of the great Council thought of nothing but immediately to fall on, and I my ſelf was one of thoſe, for it being my fortune that Campaign to command the King of *Spains* Foot, I made many Speeches to them, preparing them to Battel, fitting them with Powder, and all things needful: But the day paſſed, we lay by our Arms all night, and in the morning had Orders to encamp, throwing up a

Line before us; *Bouchain* (Monſieur *Drouhte* Governour) ſeeing this ſuccour did his part; at laſt, being overpreſſed, the place yielded the twelfth or thirteenth of *May*; yet the King, at the head of his Army, ſtood facing us five or ſix days, till *Bouchain* was put in order, and all Lines and Trenches were levelled: Then the nineteenth of *May*, before day, after his Drums and Trumpets had done their parts, he marched off from his Camp, at the Farm of *Hurtisbe*, and that night encamped near *Bouchain*, the next day marched for *Doway*. Theſe Armies were very ſtrong, but as I judged by the Campment of the French Army, which I viewed after they were gone, that the King of *Frances* Army was much more in Horſe than we were, and I think as many Foot, not counting the Army with the Duke of *Orleans*; and I am aſſured they were not leſſened by ſo long lying near neighbours with us.

After

After this the Prince of *Orange* marched from his Camp of *Mon d' Auſin* near *Valenciennes* the twenty firſt of *May*, and after ſeveral Campments came to *Nivelle*, from whence, the eighth of *July* with a detachment of his Army, and ſome others that met him, the eleven or twelfth of of *July* inveſted *Maeſtricht*, the nineteenth the Lines of Circumvallation were finiſhed, and the twentieth he began to make uſe of his Canon, opening his Trenches by two Attacks, one was the Biſhop, Prince of *Oſnaburgs*; the other the Prince of *Oranges* own; *Wick*, on the other ſide of the *Meuſe* was not attacked. Now whilſt this Siege was carrying on, the Duke of *Villa hermoſa* marched with the Army of *Holland* and his own, encamping the twenty ſixth of *July* at *Marykirke*, having paſſed *Gaunt*; *Aire* having been beſieged for ſome days by the Marſhal *de Humers*, the Duke marched to *Deinſe*, where he heard that the Fort *Linke* was taken, and

ſoon after *Aire*; the cauſe given why this ſtrong place held out no better, is, that a Magazine of Powder blew up by ſome accident, on which the Burgers (more ſtrong than the Garriſon) ſeized the Governour, the Marqueſs *de Warny*, and compelled him to demand a Treaty.

This having broken the Dukes meaſures, for he deſigned to have ventured for the ſuccour of *Aire*; his Excellence marched immediately, following the Count *de Waldike*, who was gone before him with the *Holland* Army, and camped between *Lovain* and *Bruxels*, his Excellence encamped near *Machlin*, but the twentieth of *Auguſt* he left his Camp, and in ſome days both the Armies came to *Tongres*; and ſoon after appeared the Van of the French Army, ſo that he had no more time than to call a Council of War, where having heard the relation, given by Count *de Waldike*, newly come from the Siege, not being above two Leagues diſtance, unanimouſly all

all gave their opinions for the preſent raiſing the Siege, and that the Duke and *Waldike* ſhould let the Prince know ſo much: Accordingly the next day the Siege was raiſed, the Enemy putting in ſuccour by the way of *Wick*. The Prince then drawing off, all our Armies being joyned, were put in Battel on a height, about half a League from the Line, but Monſieur *de Schomberg*, having relieved the place, marched another way, and encamped that night on the hill of St. *Peters*. I was in the Trenches before the Siege was raiſed, but did not judg the Town ſo preſſed as was generally ſaid, without it had ſome want within, that I knew not, for there were many hard Pieces to be gained before Miners could be faſtned to the Wall, or any Attackable breach could be made with Canon. This was by much the bloudieſt Siege that ever I ſaw: The *Reingrave*, with a great part of the men that made the Princes Court, were killed, and more hurt; the

Prince himſelf ſhot in the Arm, all the Regiments ſtrangely diminiſhed, the Canon was loſt, for coming from *Holland* by the River of *Meux*, when it was pretty full, now it being much fallen, could not be brought off. By what I ſaw of the Line of Circumvallation, I would rather have choſen to fight in a plain field than behind it, for it was not of ſtrength ſufficient; neither was the Army of force to man it, and go on with their Attacks, without the Prince had drawn into his Line the Army commanded by the Duke of *Villa hermoſa* and *Waldike*, that poſſibly might have changed the Scene, though the Communication would have been very hard, between them of *Wick* ſide, with thoſe before *Maeſtricht*, becauſe of the River *Meuſe*, which above and below muſt have been paſſed on Bridges of Boats; from the firſt of the Siege I never heard the Garriſon counted at leſs than five or ſix thouſand men; I ſhall not venture to give a judgment of the men killed

and

and wounded, but certainly the number was great. The dividing the Army was in my opinion ill adviſed, neither party being of ſtrength to do the work deſigned for it, whereas united it might have either carried *Maeſtricht*, or hindred the taking any other place: And for all the Princes expoſing himſelf and Army to the uttermoſt of danger, himſelf wounded in the Arm, yet ſome there were that did not afford him a good word, but the contrary. After the raiſing this Siege the Prince of *Orange* ſought by all means to engage the French in a Battel, yet about the ſeventh of *September* 1675. Monſieur *Schomburge* paſſed the River of *Mahaine* in our view of the right Wing uninterrupted, but the Prince was in the left Wing near a League diſtance, and hardly knew any thing till all was paſt. About three days after, the Prince and Duke of *Villahermoſa* incamped the Army about *Giblow*, the quarter of the Court in the Town, and Monſieur *de Shom-*

Schomburge with his Army, about a League from us, in a faſt Country, but very great Plains juſt before him. The next morning early the Prince put his Army in battel on this Plain, in ſight, and very near the Enemy, but *Schomburge* ſtirred not. Now after ſome hours, wearied with ſtanding, the Prince with his Army marched off, leaving the Spaniards and Germans in Rear; which ſoon after it began to move, Monſieur *Montal*, with a great body of Horſe and Dragoons marched through *Giblow*, from whence we parted, and fell on in the Flank and Rear, doing ſome miſchief, cauſing great confuſion among us; and had this Party been well ſeconded by Monſieur *Schomburge*, it might have proved a ſecond *Seneff*; for the Prince of *Orange* with his Army was far off, and many of his Horſes gone to forrage. In a day or two after the Prince went for the *Hague*, and the Duke of *Villa hermoſa* with *Waldike* marched to *Werſer*, in order to putting

putting an end to the Field of 1676.

This year 1677. the Field opened with the Count *de Nancres* attacking the Fort, called the three holes near *Vilvorde*, on the cut River that goes between *Bruxels* and *Antwerp*, but was beaten off the twenty fourth of *February*.

The ſixth or ſeventh of *March*, *Valenciennes* was beſieged by the King of *France*, opened his Trenches the ninth, and the ſeventeenth the Town was taken by aſſault about nine of the clock in the morning; The Story ſtrange, for half an hour before this accident, and the eighth day the Trenches opened, the Enemy had not gained a foot of ground; The French entred by the Gates, which they found open, for the Governour, the Marqueſs of *Risburge*, a brave Souldier, was in his bed dangerouſly wounded, and the Town governed by a Council of War. Thus encouraged, the King beſieged *Cambray* about the laſt of

of *March* following, and the third or fourth of *April* the Town yielded; after the Garriſon, by Orders of the Governour, had killed all their Horſes, being as I have heard near a thouſand; then with the Governour they retired into the Cittadel, which was fiercely attacked; but the King, having a mighty force, divided his Army, and with one part his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, beſieged St. *Omers* the twenty eighth of *March* 1677. On which the Prince of *Rebeck*, Governour, ſent preſſing Letters to the Prince of *Orange* (then encamped in the *Pais de Waſt* near *Gaunt*) to haſten to his ſuccour: The Prince of *Orange* on this, and his great zeal for the Service did what he could to put his Army in order, having none but his own with him, and the eleventh of *April*, after hard marching, coming to *Caſtles*, found the Duke of *Orleans* had quitted the Line to meet him, and was in Battel before him. Then the two Armies engaged, and the Battel

was

was well fought on both ſides for a long time; But the detachment, ſent from *Cambray* by the King of *France*, turned the ſcales. This, together with the Princes fighting on ground he knew not, and where he met with Rivers and Defiles or narrow ways that he never heard on, was the cauſe of his overthrow.

Soon after this, the ſeventeenth of *April*, the Cittadel of *Cambray* was rendred, *Don Pedro de Saval* Governour, and St. *Omers* about the twenty eighth of *April* following.

This did not abate the courage of the Prince of *Orange*, for the fourth of *Auguſt* following (almoſt in the view of as good an Army as that he commanded) he beſieged *Charleroy*, a place ſeated on the River *Sambre*, ſtrong by nature, and fortified with all Art imaginable; a Garriſon of four or five thouſand men, a brave Governour, the Count *de Montal*, no want within, but rather abundance of every thing; very hard to make a good

good Line of Circumvallation, for beſides the rockineſs of the ground, one part of it muſt be commanded by a hill, that could not be ſecured but by an Army without, near as ſtrong as any that might come for the relief; a great Wood that runs ſeveral Leagues in length, and in breadth near half a League, joyns to this Line; through this there are great ways or Launs cut, where two or three Squadrons might march in breaſt, but the ſtumps and ſome fallen trees remains ſtill, ſo that horſe or man could hardly paſs but in paths, the place not attackable but on one ſide, and by reaſon of the *Sambre*, that runs by it, over which there were only Bridges to paſs from one quarter to another, which made the Communication very difficult. Thus the Prince lay beſieging this place, whilſt the Duke *de Villa hermoſa* with an Army was encamped on the ſaid Hill, till the Duke of *Luxemburgh* came with his Army, and encamped within little more

more than Canon ſhot of the Wood, in a great Plain, over-againſt our Camp, I mean that Camp commanded by the Duke *de Villa hermoſa*, who lay without the Line, for the defence of the mentioned Hill: On this Campment of the Duke of *Luxemburgh* many Councils of War were held by the great ones of the Confederates: The Duke *de Villa hermoſa*, and the Spaniſh Generals were for paſſing the Wood, and engaging the Enemy: But the Prince of *Orange*, and his Generals judged it not feizable, and further impoſſible to ſucceed with the work in hand, this powerful Army ſo near; whereupon the Prince reſolved to raiſe the Siege, which he did in good order the fourteenth of *Auguſt* 1678. The reaſon given by the chief Confederate Generals for adviſing or conſenting to this Siege of *Charleroy*, is that for many days both Armies had been encamped near together in the Country of *Aloſt*, but the French could not be brought to a Battel.

Now

Now the Confederates, finding themſelves very ſtrong, beſides Foot 22000 Horſe, fell on this deſign, hoping to gain their end in beſieging this important place, by the enemies coming to its ſuccour; this might hold pretty well if the Confederates had prurſued their point, when the French came as they could wiſh, for the Duke of *Luxemburgh* with his Army paſſed the *Sambre* at *la Buſiere*, and ſo kept on his March till he came to the encampment near the Wood, which took up at leaſt two days; in all which time he could not have avoided fighting, if the Confederates had ſought it, by marching to meet them; this faileur is hard to be excuſed. Much blame was laid on the Prince of *Orange* for not paſſing the Wood, and attacking the French in their Camp near the Wood; which if he had done, according to all Maxims of War, he had loſt his Army; for the French would never have given him time to have put his Army in battel,

but

but fought him by piecemeals as he appeared out of the Wood; beſides, his Batallions and Squadrons muſt needs have been diſordered in their march through the Wood. The Generals that were for fighting, alleadged that the French were ſo encamped that their right Wing could not ſuccour their left; but it is hardly credible in ſuch an encampment, it being in a great Plain, where nothing could hinder. It was further given out, and ſpoken publickly, that the Prince raiſed this Siege on ſome Letter or Meſſage the King of *England* ſent him, and brought by the Earl of *Oſſory*. Now, to my own knowledge, and to the view of all the Army, the Earl of *Oſſory* came to the Prince ſome days before *Charleroy* was inveſted, ſo that this Meſſage or Letter might have prevented the Siege rather than to have raiſed it: Beſides, if the King of *England*, moved by intereſt of State, ſhould have ſent ſuch Letter or Meſſage, is it to be imagined that he

would have imployed the Earl of *Oſſory*, who was one of the braveſt men of his time, and if he had a fault too fond of glory. Thus you ſee in what ill ſtation the Prince of *Orange* was.

As we returned from this Siege the twenty fourth of this month, *Binch* fell into our hands, and in a day or two after we took *la Buſhire*, but with ſome ſhot of Canon.

Soon after this, the tenth of *September*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* attacked the Fort, called the *Three holes*, near *Vilvord*, the Attack begun about ten in the morning, and the night ended it; there were not in it above ſixty men, commanded by one Captain *Carpenter*; he and they got much honour, and the French went off with loſs of ſome men.

The Prince of *Orange* being at the *Hague*, the Marſhal *de Humers*, beſieged St. *Gnilain*, the Duke *de Villahermoſa*, now commanding in chief, for Monſieur *Waldike*, with the *Holland*

land Army, was to obey his Orders, marched for its ſuccour, but coming in ſight, found the place yielded, or treating, it being the tenth or eleventh of *December*. The French reſolving to give little reſt, the King fell on *Gaunt* the ninth of *March* 1678. and had it the eighteenth; the Caſtle held out two days more. The reaſon that *Gaunt* made little reſiſtance, was, it had no Garriſon for ſo great a place, the Burgers did what was done.

The King from *Gaunt* marched to *Ipres*, it having been reſtored to the Spaniards upon the *Pyrenean* peace, and beſieged it, opening the Trenches before both Town and Cittadel the eighteenth and nineteenth of *March* 1678. And as it had a brave Governour, the Marqueſs *de Conflant*, ſo it was well defended; but being vigorouſly attacked, the Cittadel good for nothing, and many things wanting in the Town, the twenty ſeventh of *March* it was yielded.

The French left no ſtone unturned

for gaining of places, and uſing ſleight as well as force, for a Party ſent from *Maeſtricht* the fourth of *May* 1678. in the night ſurpriſed *Leewe*, a very ſtrong and important place, not far from *Lovain*.

Since the taking of St *Guilain* by the French, *Monts* had been very cloſely blocked, and ſo much ſtreightned, that if not ſpeedy relieved, it muſt yield, having many wants within. On this the Prince of *Orange*, and Duke *de Villahermoſa*, reſolved to attempt its ſuccour: And having gotten a good Army together, marched, and ariving near *Soigne*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* with his Army retired before them towards *Monts*; but coming within a League and a half, or thereabouts, encamped himſelf on a large Heath, with the Valley of *Caſtio* before him, his back towards the Town; The Confederates coming near this Valley, and in full view of the Enemies Camp, the Valley only between the two Armies, the Prince of

of *Orange* put his Army in Battel on two Lines, the Spaniſh Forces had the right Wing, the Duke *de Villahermoſa* commanding it; the Army of the States General the left, which the Prince of *Orange* commanded.

Now before I ſpeak of the Fight, which was altogether in the Valley or on its edges, I muſt deſcribe the Valley; of its length I ſaw no end, but its breadth from one ſide to the other could not be leſs than a quarter of a League over, and of a great depth; In the bottom runs a little River, and the ſides of the Valley very ſteep, rocky, and full of Wood; no way through it where more than horſes may paſs one after the other, and that by turnings and windings; The Abbey of St. *Denie* is ſeated in it, but ſo low, that it is not to be ſeen till you come over it; on the other ſide the River almoſt oppoſite comes in a neck of Land, all plain where the Enemy had a little Camp; the old burnt Caſtle of *Caſtio*

is about a little half League from St. *Denie*, ſeated on the Valley, and on the ſame ſide, but on a height as high as the main land, and very near the edge of the Valley, both theſe places on our ſide, but poſſeſſed by the Enemy.

The Fight began about one of the clock after Dinner, with the Princes planting Canon againſt thoſe incamped on the advanced neck of Land, and ſoon after fell on St. *Denie*, which was well manned, and had had many Battalions ſent from the Camp on the height and French Army to aſſiſt it; but St. *Denie* being of no ſtrength was quitted, and after much fighting the French Battalions retired to the height, the Princes people purſuing, yet the fight continued, and bloudy doings there was. About the ſame time the Duke *de Villahermoſa* fell on *Caſtio*, and after much reſiſtance, both from thoſe within, and the ſeveral Battalions, ſent from the French Army to its aſſiſtance, took it; yet the

fight

fight continued very warm in the Valley, ſupplies of Battalions coming from both Armies to help theirs; thus it held till towards the Evening, then the French regained *Caſtio*, and their Battalions, under its covert, did not only advance to the edge of the Valley on our ſide, but formed two or three Battalions on the Plain: The Earl of *Offory*, who commanded the Foot oppoſite to them, did what was poſſible to be done, with great killing on both ſides, loſing moſt of his Officers, either killed or wounded, and himſelf preſerved by his Arms. Whilſt this was acting, and the day almoſt ended, two or three Squadrons of French Horſe, ſent from the Army, croſſed the Valley, and coming up one after another between the Caſtle and their Battallions, on the ſudden, and not expected, fell on the Duke *de Villahermoſa's* Guards, killing one of their Captains, with ſeveral other Officers and Souldiers, putting the reſt in great diſorder. The French having done

their work, and ſeeing more Squadrons advancing towards them, they retired by the way they came; yet the fight continued till it was dark, and more than an hour after by the light of houſes near *Caſtio*, fired by the French, but there being no more houſes to burn, all was quiet, and the Troops on both ſides returned to their ſeveral Lines. About two or three hours after, intelligence was brought that the French had not only quitted *Caſtio*, but had left their Camp, and were marched towards *Monts*, and it was in great haſte, for they left ſome Tents and other things behind.

The Earl of *Offory* in this afternoons work purchaſed to himſelf, and noble Family immortal honour, commanding the Engliſh as General in the States Service.

The Duke of *Munmouth* was all along in this fight, and gained as much honour as was poſſible for a ſingle man, he being but a Voluntier, his Friend and Companion, Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*,

Armſtrong, was ſhot in two or three places. It is hard to ſay what number of men were ſlain, or who loſt moſt, I judg them on both ſides about four or five thouſand killed and wounded, amongſt which were a number of brave Officers.

The next day, being the fifteenth of *Auguſt*, there was a ſuſpenſion of Arms, and ratified the twentieth of the ſame month: Thus with ſuſpenſions of Arms we continued till the general Peace ſigned at *Nimiguen* the ſeventeenth of *September*, with the ratification of it the twenty firſt of *September* 1678. put all in quiet.

Obſervations.

1. IT is almoſt impoſſible for a Confederate Army joyned, and acting together, though under one Generaliſſimo, to have ſucceſs, in compariſon with the Army of any Prince commanded by one General, if the Armies are

are near in ſtrength and quality. Firſt, all Generals of the Army that compoſes this Confederate Body will expect to be conſulted by the Generalliſſimo in every undertaking, that nothing may be done without their conſent. Now the bringing together theſe Generals, as it takes up much time, ſo often there follows great Debates, and whilſt this is doing, the Enemies Army paſſes a River or Defile, and ſometimes puts a Convoy into a place that needs it.

As for the ſuccouring a Town beſieged, where expedition is required, there is no more compariſon in the ſpeedy marching of theſe two Armies, than the ſailing of a ſingle Ship and a Fleet: For if any of theſe Generals do not cordially like the undertaking, as ſeldom all do, though they have in point of honour conſented, that Generals Army will come ſlowly to Rendezvouz, and then march with great formality, drawing up at every turn, making many haults, and go over foot-

foot-bridges rather than through a Ford where his men ſhall not be up to the knees, and might march ten a breaſt; and twenty other excuſes that I have ſeen; and many times theſe Generals do in a manner refuſe the Orders of the Generaliſſimo, but ſtill cover it with ſome excuſes.

It is certain, that the Army of a Prince under one General will march further in three days than a Confederate Army of the ſame ſtrength in five; and when they are come to the place of Acting, all muſt be called together again, where they ſeldom or never agree what is to be done. And on this I conclude, that Princes Leagued ought to act as much as poſſible with their Armies ſeparated.

2. Woe be to that people whoſe Country is invaded, and their Prince forced to bring in forain Aſſiſtance, far exceeding in force what he hath of his own Troops. Theſe, by what I have ſeen, are worſe than Enemies, ſet killing aſide; for from theſe laſt they

they ſeek to ſave themſelves: But Auxilliaries pretend to give ſafeguards, yet when the Troops of another General comes, they ſlight this ſafeguard. Thus the people refuged in Villages, Caſtles, and Cloyſters with all their ſubſtance are caught in their ſecurity; and ſometimes, as I have known, it does not reſt with the loſs of what they have, but purſued by many Sacriledges and Rapes, ſparing neither Religious women, nor others.

And the Army of the Country under the Covert of theſe ſtrangers, being guides, do more miſchief than the ſtrangers. And ſometimes this poor diſtreſſed Prince, upon preſſing occaſions, to ſome one or more of theſe Generals to march, and they will make an excuſe that they cannot get their men to it, till they have two or three months pay due unto them, which muſt be ſent if he will be ſerved.

3. The

3. The ſecurity of an Army conſiſts much in the Generals having good intelligence, as well to avoid ſurprizes as to take advantages when occaſions are offered; for there is no Army but in marching or Camping is expoſed to the Enemy, if they knew the time for taking their advantage.

4. A General whoſe condition is to ſeek fighting muſt be careful how he brings his Army too near the Enemy well poſted, without he comes with reſolution to force him in his Camp, or that he can encamp ſo by him at his eaſe as the Enemy muſt be enforced to march off before him; for otherwiſe, at his going off he will run great risk of being dangerouſly attacked in the Flank and Rear, or both, eſpecially if it be where there are Defiles or Rivers.

5. A General that marches with an Army for the ſuccour of a Town, beſieged by another as great, or near as powerful as that which he commands, if the Enemy on his approach draws off,

off, and puts himſelf in Battel out of his way, or is marching clear off, the General is not to take notice of him, but without loſing time to furniſh the wants of the Town, make up the breaches, deſtroying the Lines and Trenches made by the Enemy.

6. A General that fights an Army of which he knows the ſtrength, hath great advantage of another General that fights he knows not what, as it appears in the Battel of *Caſtles*, for the Duke of *Orleans* might know, almoſt to a man, with what ſtrength the Prince of *Orange* could come, but the Prince of *Orange* could not know that of him, whilſt the King of *France* was ſo near, at the Siege of *Cambray*, who with his whole Army might have joyned the Duke of *Orleans* as eaſily as the Detachment did.

7. A General that hath his Magazines fully ſtored with all neceſſaries, and well placed in order to his deſign, having the advantage of Rivers, and no want of Waggons, may well beſiege

beſiege a Town ſeated near thoſe Rivers in all ſeaſons of the year, and with more advantage in the Winter, or rather in the Spring, before there be forrage, than afterwards; for the Enemy that might be feared to march for the ſuccour muſt have time to bring his Army together, and then not having the conveniences of Rivers, be forced to bring all his Proviſions by Land in Waggons. And it is almoſt impoſſible, if his Magazines and Country be far off, to ſupply his Army with Forrage, being to be brought at ſo great a diſtance. This is found by experience, if the times when the King of *France* beſieged *Valenciennes* and *Cambray* be conſidered, as alſo when the Marſhal *de Humers* beſieged St. *Guilian*. And if the Army with this Winter doing be weakened and ſhattered, the Sieges being over, and Forrage coming on, it will ſoon recover, or at leaſt be able to make a defenſive War for the preſervation of Towns that muſt be attacked in form, and

and are of ſtrength, and in condition to hold out for a reaſonable time.

8. An Army marching, and making haults whilſt ways are mending, or Bridges making, is not without apprehenſion, and danger, if the Enemies Army be not far off. To avoid this, when the General hath taken his reſolution to march, and by what way, and on how many Colomes or Lines, he immediately ſends truſty and knowing Officers with a good Eſcourt of Horſe and Foot with Pioneers to mend and make clear the ways for the march, and if there be Rivers, Boats for Bridges; then putting good Guides with the Officer commanding each Line, he marches without interruption; but great care is to be taken that the Lines march equal, and not too far aſunder, that ſo they may (in caſe of an Alarm) be found, or put eaſily in order of Battle.

9. A General ought to know, as near as poſſible may be, the Enemies Proviſions, for he that can longeſt keep

keep the field may take great advantage of the other, before he can be fitted out again.

10. Troops preſſed in fight do incline much to croud in one upon another, ſo that if you have not field-room it is hard to untangle, and put them in order in that caſe; ſometimes it may be wiſhed that half the number were away. I have ſeen this often, but never marked it ſo particularly as in the fight at *Caſtio*, when two or three Squadrons of French Horſe charged and routed the Duke *de Villa hermoſa's* Guards: On this many other Squadrons were commanded to their ſuccour, but the ground was filled to ſuch a degree, as if they muſt have fought they could never have been put in order to make any reſiſtance.

11. In Battels it ought to be held as an undoubted Maxim of War, that a Wing of Horſe, beating the Enemies oppoſite Wing, is not to move one foot in the purſuit, but to keep its firſt order, and if the Rout be

ſuch, that the Enemies ought to be purſued, let it be done by Detachments or commanded men; and if the Battel gained, no plundering till all be ſecured.

12. I do not abſolutely reject Battels, for in ſome caſes they are to be fought, and in others, though a General do not ſeek fighting, yet he muſt expoſe his Army to Battel, if the Enemy will: But certainly it is a matter of great conſideration, eſpecially when a Country is invaded, for the loſs of a Battel is many times the loſs of a Kingdom: And let a General be never ſo great a Captain, having ranged his Army in the beſt manner, and given to his Officers all good Orders, yet when the Armies are once engaged, he can act little more than one mans part, and is ſubject by the failures of many others to be overthrown.

13. Towns are for the moſt part beſieged becauſe of defects in their Fortifications, or wants within, as Men,

Men, Ammunition, or Proviſions, *&c.* ſo that to keep out theſe Reliefs, a Line of Circumvallation is very neceſſary, and till it be put in defence neither Horſe nor Foot are to pretend reſt, or any Trench to be opened; But when all is done, if a conſiderable Army come to poſt it ſelf near this Line, if it be not very good, and well flanck'd with a good Ditch and Parapet, no ground to command it, and an Army well to man it, beſides thoſe in the Trenches carrying on the Attacks, it is better to hazard a Battel in a plain field than to fight behind the Line; for the Enemy lying by you is commonly ſtrongly poſted, will annoy your Convoys, and Forragers, if this will not make you raiſe your Siege; and if the Town be worth it, he will take his time to attempt your Line by force, and begins commonly an hour or two before day, Alarming you round, falls on with ſome falſe Attacks, and two or three real ones; your Line is often twelve miles about;

and if a River runs by the Town, as for the moſt part there does, this Line is divided, and ſo your Army has no communication but by Bridges of Boats; and in this caſe, it being dark, none goes to help the other, but every one ſtands to defend his part of the Line, none knowing where the real danger is, but he that feels it; and if there be a Camp *Volant* with the General, he may with it march wrong as well as right, and the Enemy once entred, uſually all quit the Line, and ſeek to ſave themſelves, and it is hard to put them in any order of battel to reſiſt; ſo all that can be hoped for, is to make a reaſonable Retreat. Now in caſe the Enemy fail in their Attempt they run little or no hazard, for they retire before it be full day: And thoſe within the Line dare hardly purſue till parties ſent out in the morning to diſcover return. Now, if you draw out, and fighting gain a Battel, though a relief whilſt you are ingaged ſlip into the place, thoſe within, ſeeing their Army beaten,

beaten, loſe courage, and in all likelihood will give you little trouble before they render.

14. A General coming before a Town with a deſign to beſiege it, muſt be well informed of all things within and without before he opens his Trenches, for I have ſeen by the miſtake of the true Attack much time trifled away with the loſs of many lives, and I think once of the whole Army.

15. A General that in a retreat brings his Army to attempt the paſſing a River or great Defile, an Enemies Army being near, or in view, runs too much hazard, if it be not by neceſſity, and then he is blameable to have brought it to that extremity.

16. The paſſing of Defiles and Rivers may be atttempted, an Enemies Army near, or looking on, in certain caſes, as for the ſuccour of a Town, or breaking into an Enemies Country to conquer; The reaſon of this is chiefly grounded in the difference of mens courages and reſolutions, in

Attacking, or being Attacked; for a retreat looks ſomething like running away, eſpecially to the Common Souldiers, and advancing raiſes them to confidence of overcoming; ſtore of Canon in this caſe is of great uſe: But a General having paſſed with his Army the Rivers or Defiles, and being to return the ſame way, or by other Rivers or Defiles, muſt be careful to leave the Paſſes well ſecured for his retreat, otherwiſe after all, if the Enemy ſeizes the Paſſes or Defiles, he may in part or in whole loſe his Army: This hath hapned three or four times in our days, as I have had it from the Officers that were in the occaſion; particularly at *Smolinsko*, a Town belonging to the *Poles*, beſieged by the *Muſcovites*; the *Polanders* took the Paſſes behind them; the *Muſcovites*, being at leaſt 80000. were made Priſoners of War, with the loſs of their Cannon.

17. Great advantages in War are rarely offered, and for the moſt part

paſs

paſs ſoon; wherefore though Patience and Circumſpection are vertues in a General or chief Commander, yet they ought to be watchful, and hold their Troops ſo ready that they may not loſe the critical minute or precious moment, it being of ſo much importance in War, that the like peradventure may not happen in the life of a man.

I have ſeen my ſelf in two or three occaſions a Victory gained, that if one quarter of an hour had been omitted in the attempt, the fortune of the day in all likelihood had gone quite contrary to what it did. The cauſe is clear, and found by experience, for though Man in his Reaſon be the moſt excellent of all creatures on earth, yet having loſt it by the paſſion of Fear, is one of the leaſt; and fear doth ſometimes ſeize them in ſurpriſes to ſuch a degree that they know not what to do.

How many men in beating up Quarters and Routs are ſlain, not daring to turn their faces to make reſiſtance,

though the very ſame men, being in their judgments, in divers occaſions had carried themſelves formerly well enough.

18. No Merchant ought to be more exact in keeping his Books than a General ought to be in keeping account of the Enemies Proviſions, how they are brought to the Army, and the days.

19. A General muſt be very wary how he engages his Army in the Siege of a Town, or invades an Enemies Country, chiefly relying on a Party within the Town, or a riſing of the People in his favour; I have ſeen and known fatal conſequences in both, even to the loſs of Armies, yet ſometimes it hath ſucceeded, as when the Spaniards laſt took St. *Guilaine* from the French.

The offers of Enemies, or of thoſe that live amongſt them, are ſtill to be ſuſpected; if it be for a Town, let a Gate or ſome commanding Out-work be ſecured; if a Country, other precautions.

A

20. A Prince in time of War ought to be large in rewarding, and very ſevere in puniſhing; his General, whilſt he is ſo, to be abſolute, and the Prince not apt to hear complaints againſt him; that there be from the General, even to the Corporal throughout the whole Army an entire and known ſubordination, that each may know whom he is to command, and whom to obey: Alſo, that the Troops of the Army may be all on the ſame foot, and payed alike.

Yet in the King of *Spains Netherlands*, for what reaſon of State or War I could never learn, there are many important caſes undetermined; as between Generals *de Battalia*, and Governours of Provinces, in the Province under their Government who ſhould command; the General *de Battalia* coming into the Province with an Army, or Party; or with Orders to command a Town.

Of

Of the National Regiments, which are in those Countries, few or none will give place to the other, from whence arises (sometimes) dangerous contests even in the face of the Enemy.

One General *de Battalia* will not obey another.

The same amongst *Maistre de Campes* of Foot and Collonels of Foot.

Maistre de Campes of Horse and Collonels of Horse contest with those of the Foot.

Captains of Horse and Majors of Foot contest.

In fine, there is room left for dispute even amongst the Common Souldiers.

21. The person of a successful General, beloved by the Army; and in high esteem for his Experience and Conduct in War, is hardly to be valued, for the Souldiers believe that with this man they cannot be beaten, and with another of contrary reputation they

they are always in doubt; the ſame holds in proportion with the inferiour Commanders: I have ſeen the effect of this both in Armies and Parties.

22. An Army is more to be valued for its quality, and readineſs of Action, than for its number, having all or any of the following defects:

As Generals and other Commanders not of reputation and experience in War.

The Troops compoſed for the moſt part of new men.

The Horſe not well mounted.

Neither Horſe nor Foot well armed.

The Officers for want of Pay not valuing their imployments; and the Souldiers in a mutinous humour for the ſame cauſe.

Great defects and wants in the Artilery and its Train.

Great

Great difference is to be made between victorious Troops and cow'd or beaten, till the latter be recovered by ſome good Winter-quarters, or other forces joyned them.

A body of Horſe not of the Garriſon is never to think themſelves ſafe in a weak place, if a ſtrong Enemy be within a days march of them; to prevent this danger whilſt they ſtay, it is adviſable to draw out every night, and not return till the next morning, that the Parties ſent out are returned, having well diſcovered the Country; it is hard duty, but the night it is omitted they lie expoſed, and peradventure may find themſelves inveſted before day with Horſe and Dragoons, though the Foot come not ſo ſoon.

24. Languiſhing Sieges are to be avoided; for though an Army comes at firſt with much reſolution and courage, and ſo holds it on for a time they think convenient for taking ſuch a place, yet when they ſee the General doth

doth not advance the Attacks as he ought, and they loſe men by ſharp Sallies; ſometimes the Cannon nayled, and the lodging of the night before broken down, their Convoys cut; report of an Army marching for ſuccour; ill-weather coming on; and ſometimes a ſmal relief ſlipping into the Town, which can hardly be avoided till a place be cloſely blocked; theſe, and many other accidents, which Armies at a Siege are ſubject to, make men cool, and often deſert, to the weakening of an Army, that when the Enemies Army appears, they will be found nothing of what they were at firſt: Therefore I conclude, that reaſonable hazarding to make diſpatch is the ſaving of men, and the ſureſt way of taking a Town.

25. I ſhall conclude my Obſervations, with a thing that I have been curious in noting, that bloudy men are little eſteemed in Armies, and for the moſt part have no true Courage; that their ends are generally fatal, and ſometimes

times catched in the ſnares they laid for others; thoſe that have been all along in the Wars of *Ireland* can give good teſtimony of this, if they recollect themſelves.

The Confederate Armies commanded by the Prince of *Orange* as *Generaliſſimo*, and I think all, or moſt, preſent at the Battel of *Seneff*, and Siege of *Audenard*, were the Emperours, commanded by the Count *de Souch*; The King of *Spains*, firſt by the Count *de Monterey*, afterwards by the Duke *de Villahermoſa*, both Governours of *Flanders*; That of the States General, commanded by the Count *de Waldike*; That of the Prince and Biſhop of *Oſneburgh*, by Monſieur *Lovigny*; The Marqueſs of *Brandenburghs*, by Monſieur *Spaune*; That of *Luningbourgh* and *Zelle*, by Monſieur *Chovet*; The Army of *Munſter*, by the Baron *de Wedle*.

Obſerve

Obſerve that the ſeveral Dates of time herein mentioned are to be taken *Stylo Novo.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 23. Line 2. for *Bruix* read *Brouaie.* p. 26. l. 16. r. 1673. p. 30 r. *ſeemed often,* l. 16. r. *intrenchments.* p. 31. for *ſo* r. *too.* p. 42. l. ult. for *Worſter* r. *Waver.* p. 44. l. 13. r. *Robeck.* p. 54. l. 2. for *on* r. *in.*